DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 379 669 CS 214 740

TITLE	Proceedings of the American Journalism Historians' Association Conference (Roanoke, Virginia, October 6-8, 1994). Part I.
INSTITUTION	American Journalism Historians' Association.
PUB DATE	Oct 94
NOTE	607p.; For 1993 Proceedings, see ED 367 975-977. For part II of the 1994 Proceedings, see CS 214 741.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF03/PC25 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Blacks; Case Studies; *Colonial History (United States); Homosexuality; *Journalism History; *Newspapers; Photojournalism; Presidents of the United States; Public Relations; Radio; Slavery; Social Influences
IDENTIFIERS	African Americans; First Amendment; Journalism Research; *Media Coverage; *Media History; Muckraking; News Sources

ABSTRACT

The first part of the proceedings of this conference of journalism historians contains the following 21 papers: "'Life' Magazine and the Mercury 7 Astronauts: A Historic Case of Media Control" (Ginger Rudeseal Carter); "Newspaper Contempt between the Wars" (Richard Scheidenhelm); "Crosses Holding Off a Vampire: How Four Newspapers Used Editorials to Define Their First Amendment Functions" (James B. McPherson); "Jurisdiction Over the Body: Themes in Coverage of the Garfield Assassination" (Peter Ausenhus); "Standing Idly By: Newspaper Coverage of the 1958-59 Investigation into Homosexuality at the University of Florida" (Ford Risley); "Public Relations, the Community, and Newspaper Coverage of a Local Steel Strike, 1946" (Karen S. Miller); "'The Ladies Companion,' 1834-1844: A Magazine of 'Polite' Literature" (Paul Belgrade); "The Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes: News of Slave Insurrections and Crimes in Colonial Newspapers" (David A. Copeland); "Visible Hand: The Journalistic Drive to Incorporate a Frontier" (David J. Vergobbi); "The Leo Frank Case and the Post-Conviction Press, 1913-1915" (Jill J. Cohen); "Banana-Peel Journalism: P. S. Lovejoy and the Fight for the Cutover, 1919-1923" (James Kates); "Presidents Madison and Monroe and the Party Press in Transition, 1808-1824" (David R. Davies); "Who's the Boss?: The Influence of Black Women Journalists of 'Ringwood's Journal'" (Bernell E. Tripp); "The 'Big Six' and Muckraking: Re-examining 'Exposure Journalism'" (Kathleen L. Endres); "Historical Perspective in Magazine Design: The Need to Go Forward into the Past in a Technological Age" (Carol E. Holstead); "A Brief History of the Environmental Movement in the United States: Mass Media and Social Forces" (Mark Neuzil); "The Rip Rap Shoal Story: First Precedent for Revealing the Identity of a Journalist's Source" (Robert L. Spellman); "'Treason's Biggest Victory': How the National News Magazines Covered the 1957 Supreme Court 'Red Monday' Cases" (Bradley J. Hamm); "African Americans and the White-Owned Mississippi Press: An Analysis of Photographic Coverage from 1944 to 1984" (Susan Weill); "Mississippi Journalists, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Closed Society, 1960-1964" (David R. Davies); and "Somebody Out There Is Listening: The WOR Radio Broadcasts of Mary Margaret McBride" (Beverly G. Merrick). (RS)

ED 379 669

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1994 CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

Part I

(Roanoke, Virginia, October 6-8, 1994)

CS214740

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
D. Spencer

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS

Life Magazine and The Mercury 7 Astronauts: A Historic Case of Media Control

By
Ginger Rudeseal Carter
Northeast Louisiana University
Monroe, Louisiana

Presented to the American Journalism Historians Association
Roanoke, Virginia
Oct. 6-8, 1994

Life Magazine and the Mercury 7 Astronauts: A Historic Case of Media Control

Introduction

Thirty-five years ago this Spring, seven young military officers were placed in the public spotlight when they were selected America's first astronauts. These seven men--M. Scott Carpenter, L. Gordon Cooper, John H. Glenn, Jr., Virgil I. Grissom, Walter M. Schirra, Jr., Alan B. Shepard, Jr. and Donald K. Slayton--became "the nation's Mercury Astronauts" and were "the cream of the crop." *Life* magazine wrote, "as they sat there at a press conference, the country was introduced to the first Americans--perhaps the first human being--who will orbit in space."[1]

Within four months of their presentation to the public, however, the Mercury 7 astronauts entered into a special contract that changed the recorded history of the early space program. In August, 1959, *Time*, Inc., on behalf of *Life* magazine, paid $500,000 for the exclusive rights to the "personal stories" of the astronauts and their families.[1] The "*Life* contract" created a previously unheard of deal that theoretically kept all other media from covering the personal lives of the astronauts. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) fully endorsed the contract deal and participated in its execution.

In the only magazine article that analyzed the contract process, Robert Sherrod called this period of time "one of the more illuminating morality tales of our times." His criticism, published 15 years after the contract was signed, carried a mixed signal. Although he was one of the former *Life* correspondents protected by the contract, he still felt this--and subsequent--contracts were "wrong from the start."[3] Even Tom Wolfe, in his epic work *The Right Stuff,* exposed the contract and its exclusivity, showing how locked-out reporters climbed trees and went through garbage to get a personal story.[4] These two treatments are, to date, the only broad discussions of the importance of the *Life* contract in space program history.

This research examines the media control created by the execution of the first contract between the Mercury 7 astronauts and Time, Inc. in 1959 between August, 1959, and May, 1963 and seeks to answer four questions. First, was NASA trying to invoke censorship by recommending the deal? This study will answer this question by examining the media control, defining the parameters of the contract, and examining the scope -- and limitations -- of the deal. NASA's real motives for participating in the establishment of this contract will also be discussed.

Second, how did the media in 1959 react to the contract process? The research will show that although the contract was protested by news organizations across America, it was never challenged by a lawsuit or any court action. In fact, initial media coverage of the contract in 1959 was limited to brief mentions in Associated Press wire stories and news magazines, and the outcry generally died down in less than one month.

A third question will examine how the contract prohibited reporters from covering all aspects of Project Mercury. The research will suggest that, throughout the duration of the contract and Project Mercury, reporters circumvented the agreement, writing personal stories and books about the astronauts.

Finally, what is the significance of this contract to journalism history in general? How did a four-year contract period change -- and challenge -- news reporters of the 1960s?

NASA's Beginning

Before beginning an examination of the *Life* contract with the Mercury astronauts, it is important to place the events in context for that period of time. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration was formed by a 26-page congressional act signed on October 1, 1958; the beginnings of the development of Project Mercury were announced three days later. This development was in direct response to the Oct. 4, 1957 launching of the Russian satellite Sputnik.[5] As a governmental unit, NASA had operational mandates from its chartering documents, but it otherwise had not created a protocol for all operations, including media coverage. For the first months of its existence, NASA operated under Air Force press protocols. The Cold War was in full swing, and America had pledged billions of dollars to the race against the Russians into outer space. All of these developments directly affected the activities that began in April of 1959. T. Keith Glennan was NASA's first administrator. Walter T. Bonney, a former newspaper reporter who worked for NASA's predecessor, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA), was named Public Information Officer. Both men were working with the encouragement of President Dwight D. Eisenhower; both men were creating a new endeavor from the ground up. As with most innovative public endeavors, image was everything. NASA had a new, speculative product that needed public support.[6]

The Space Age Begins

On April 7, 1959, media across America received a press release from NASA that stated, "Seven volunteers will report to the Space Flight Activity at the Langley Research Center, Hampton, Virginia, in the early future for Project Mercury orbital flight training." This information, termed "not for publication" in a note to editors in the release, explained that the seven selected "were of such high caliber that selection was difficult." [7]

The Mercury 7 were introduced to the public and media two days later in a April 9, 1959, press conference. More than 200 reporters and photographers attended the conference, which lasted close to two hours.[8] The astronauts had reported for duty only four days before, and until the beginning of the 2 p.m. press conference, only NASA, the White House, and the astronauts' families knew their identity.[9] Even Bonney said he received the information April 8. He said at the press conference that he first met them at Langley

Field the night before.[10]

Slayton and Shepard recalled the conference in their book *Moon Shot*:

> After what seemed to be an eternity to the astronauts, the news conference wound down. Six of the seven test pilots on stage were ready to climb over anybody and anything to get out from under the scrutiny of the public eye.[11]

The news media converged on the astronauts' families across the United States. Marge Slayton was photographed at home at Edwards Air Force Base in California, holding her toddler son and talking to her husband on the telephone. She said the "publicity wave was gathering power like a rolling sonic boom."[12]

Louise Shepard was followed from her home to nearby Virginia Beach, where she, her daughters, and a niece were photographed for *Life*. When she returned to her home, Mrs. Shepard found an army of media waiting to ask her questions. One photographer snapped a photo in front of the mailbox, and the address, 580 Brandon Road, appeared in hundreds of newspapers over the next few days. The photo brought with it a barrage of mail.[13]

This mass appeal and media interest in the astronauts appeared to be Bonney's primary motive behind the creation of an overall "policy concerning Mercury Astronauts."[14] Concerned that Department of Defense directives did not cover the astronauts' duties, Bonney created a three-page guideline that "makes them subject to the regulations and directives of NASA in the performance of their duties."[15] In fact, Sherrod wrote that Bonney "anticipated heavy pressure for access to the seven" even before the selection. Sherrod wrote

> Bonney's chief objective was to coordinate the astronauts' literary activities, lest "John Glenn write for *Life*, Alan Shepard for *Look*, and Gordon Cooper for the *Post*, and their wives for various women's magazines.[16]

Lloyd Swenson, James Grimwood, and Charles Alexander wrote in *This New Ocean: A History of Project Mercury* that Bonney "foresaw the public and press attention, asked for an enlarged staff, and laid the guidelines for a policy in close accord with that of other government agencies."[17]

The policy memo, first acknowledged by a memorandum following a meeting May 6, 1959, included four main points:

> 1. All official material on the Mercury Astronauts which is unclassified will be "promptly made available to the public by NASA."
>
> 2. The media would be granted "frequent accessibility" to the Mercury Astronauts for news coverage. Bonney, as director of public information for NASA, would control the process for the busy astronauts.
>
> 3. The astronauts could not, without NASA's approval, appear on television or radio, or in motion pictures; publish or collaborate in the publication of writings of any kind; be compensated for radio, television, or motion picture appearances, or writing of any kind; endorse a commercial product.

It was the fourth point, however, that left the door open for what would become the *Life* contract: "The Mercury Astronauts are free, singly and collectively, to make any agreement they see fit for the sale of their personal stories, including rights in literary work, motion pictures, radio and television productions, provided such agreements do not violate the foregoing restrictions."[18] Sherrod called this "a Pandora's box" that, once opened, "spewed forth demons for the ensuing decade."[19]

This passage did two key things. First, this it divided the public and private stories of the astronauts. This is perhaps Bonney's craftiest move. With this, he gave the astronauts a product to sell. This was a feature news product that would be a "hard sell" for a public opinion officer to make to a reporter covering one of the hottest news stories of the decade. Second, Bonney added the words "provided such agreements do not violate the foregoing restrictions," key words in the policy. Even Sherrod does not acknowledge this caveat of the policy. For while this fourth tenet may have allowed the astronauts freedom, these nine words delineated the freedom. Because of the wording of this statement, NASA would maintain all control of the astronauts' personal stories, even though NASA had given the astronauts "ownership" of said stories.

In a speech to the UPI Editor's Conference in 1960, Bonney justified the process of drawing up this directive:

> NASA realizes, again just as I said about our total program, that Project Mercury belongs to the public--it is publicly financed, the story is public, every penny that supports it comes from the public.
>
> But there is also the matter of personal rights and here we get into a policy question which has bedeviled both Official Washington and the press over the years. How do you draw the fine line between the official story on the one side which belongs to the public, and the personal story which belongs to the individual? [20]

Bonney also summarized the policy, stating, "What we have attempted to do is to follow a middle course, one that would take both the public rights fully into account and also to give some protection to the personal rights of the individual."[21] That middle course is the crux of the problem.

On May 8, 1959, Bonney met with John A. Johnson, NASA general counsel, the Assistant Secretary of Defense, and the general counsel of the Department of Defense. In a memo to NASA administrator T. Keith Glennan, Johnson said the Department of Defense "expressed enthusiastic approval of the statement." He added the group agreed that "NASA should, if questioned on this point by the press, state that our policy in this situation is consistent with DOD policy."[22] The policy statement was then cleared with Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., special assistant to the President for Science and Technology.[23] His office then cleared it through General Andrew J. Goodpaster, staff secretary of the White House. In a memorandum to Goodpaster, W.L. Hjornevik, Glennan's assistant, stated

> our next step will be to inform the Astronauts of our policy and to explain to them our reasons for its adoption. Following this, the public information media will be advised of the policy.[24]

The media were informed of the policy the day before Goodpaster. A release dated May 11, 1959, outlined the policy. At this time, there was no mention that Bonney was actively seeking an agent for the astronauts, or that he hoped to create a "package deal" for their personal stories. [25]

Alan Shepard recalled that Bonney "recognized that one problem had to be settled--how to handle our personal stories." Shepard added, "Walt went to C. Leo DeOrsey, a prominent Washington lawyer, and asked him, as a public service, to help." On May 28, 1959, the Mercury Astronauts signed an agreement with DeOrsey to "sell their story."[26] The agreement stated the astronauts agreed that a "joint effort for the sale of such rights appears to be the most practical approach" and that representation on their behalf should be obtained. The agreement made DeOrsey their agent, and he would act in their behalf, dividing all the funds equally between the seven.[27]

There were two unique clauses in the contract with DeOrsey: First, should an astronaut withdraw from the program, he would lose his share of the money; second, DeOrsey agreed to serve the astronauts without compensation and will also "personally defray all expenses incurred to him in this project."[28]

It is important to note two things here: First, there was a tenuous precedent for NASA to draw a line between "personal" and "official" stories in the first place. Following World War II, returning war heros wrote and were paid for stories about their military exploits for magazines. Bluntly put, this sort of "checkbook journalism" was not uncommon for the government -- or *Life* -- in the 1950s. Second, no NASA official signed the contract, making this transaction solely between DeOrsey and the astronauts. This means that technically and legally the astronauts, not NASA, sold their own personal stories to the highest bidder. The astronauts werOkidata ML 390/391OKML390.PRS9ring his days in office.[29]

We Have a Contract

After a little more than two months of negotiation, DeOrsey signed the contract with *Time,* Inc. for "all rights of every kind throughout the world in and to the personal stories of all ballistic and orbital flights made by the Astronauts during the course of and in connection with Project Mercury." The agreement also included the personal stories of the astronauts' wives, although they did not sign the contract. DeOrsey and Robert T. Elson of *Time,* Inc. signed the contract, and it was filed and recorded in New York August 5, 1959.[30]

The contract stated that *Time,* Inc. had control over the content of stories and pictures used about the astronauts' personal lives. The magazine also reserved the right to approve outside writing assignments agreed to by the wives of the astronauts. Most importantly, the contract agreed "that *Time* will not publish any material which may deemed restrictive or secret by the officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration or by the Department of Defense."[31] This statement gave NASA the right of story approval and, ostensibly, censorship. And while reporters who wrote for *Life* say NASA "rarely invoked" this censorship, it was still there. Dora Jane Hamblin, a *Life* reporter who covered the Gemini and Apollo missions, wrote

> My stories went through the usual *Life* channels in New York. I wrote them, turned them in, they were read by the copy editor, Joseph Kastner, and the managing editor, who during Apollo was George Hunt. In cases in which the articles were signed and approved by the astronauts, I also had flown to Washington and had them read and approved by NASA public information officers. In cases when the by-line was my own, I did not have to

clear the pieces in Washington.[32]

Shepard said prior approval was important, adding

> There was high public interest in anything the astronauts did then, and this started long before any of us had flown in space. NASA approved everything written for *Time* and *Life* written under the contract.[33]

A second statement in the contract showed that NASA defined the parameters of the personal story and "will greatly influence the type of story or stories that *Time* wishes to publish."[34]

There was one element of the contract ignored in all previous articles: *Time,* Inc. had an "escape clause." According to the contract

> If at any time during the course of Project Mercury, in the judgement of Time, it is decided that the value of the personal stories of the Astronauts and their wives is badly impaired or lost, Time may terminate this agreement by paying to Mr. DeOrsey on account of the astronauts the sum of seventy thousand dollars.[35]

In the end, there was no "escape," only judicious editing. The stories were written to project a pristine, all-American view of the astronauts and their families. *Life* magazine printed these personal stories, while *Time*, Inc. stuck to the "hard news." Most of all, the two didn't share information. Hamblin wrote "Time and Life, particularly in New York, treated each other as competitors despite common parenthood." She added that astronaut materials belonged to *Life* because "it was *Life* which paid, and *Life* alone which received."[36]

The contract with *Life* had another benefit for the astronauts: money. The Mercury astronauts were still military officers, detached to NASA; each received his current service pay with hazardous-duty pay while remaining eligible for promotion. Shepard said he and the other astronauts earned "about $12,000 a year at that time."[37]

With the execution and filing of the contract, the seven divided $105,000 and received $15,000 each. Upon the successful completion of the first sub-orbital, they split $140,000 for $20,000 each. After the first orbital flight, the astronauts divided $175,000, receiving $25,000 each. Upon the announcement of the completion of the project in 1963, they split $80,000, receiving $11,428.71 each. Between August, 1959, and May 15, 1963, each astronaut received $71,428,71. This amounted to an average of $17,857.18 per year.[38]

Shepard wrote

> We all thought it was a pretty good thing, for several reasons. It was a way to keep things under control. It provided an insurance policy in case there was an accident once we started flying in space. And here we were a bunch of junior officers suddenly thrown into an environment where we're supposed to act like four-star generals. We couldn't wear our uniforms anymore, so we had to buy clothes for all the high-level functions we had to attend. We had to buy clothes for our wives. We had to buy houses and furniture, and we had a lot of bills building up with no money to pay for them. So the Time-Life deal was pretty damn attractive.[39]

Hamblin summed up the contract process succinctly. She wrote

> Obviously the contract caused some consternation at the time. Other news media felt they were discriminated against (even almighty TV wasn't allowed inside the homes); there were some at NASA who opposed it. In the end, however, NASA approved for several reasons. One, it was a clean and honest way for the men to pick up extra money two, it protected the families from a fullscale assault of all the press; three, *Life* agreed to clear every article through NASA public relations before publication. Everybody benefitted, or so everybody thought.[40]

Rarely -- if ever -- had an act of "checkbook journalism" been called a "clean and honest way" for a government official to make money. By 1963, the practice would come under even closer scrutiny and, in the case of the astronauts, would never be so broadly accepted again.

The Astronauts Come to *Life*

Life Magazine took sixteen days to announce its coup, so from August 8 to August 24, there was no mention of the contract in other media.[41] Buried on two back pages of the August 24, 1959 issue of *Life*, editor Andrew Heiskell announced "The Astronauts' own stories will appear only in *Life*." He added "*Life*--and *Life* alone--will bring you that personal story in the words of the men and women concerned."[42] *Time* Magazine offered more detail on the deal. The August 24, 1959, issue had a three-paragraph article about the *Life* deal which cited the contract, identified DeOrsey as the astronauts' agent, and even divulged the amount of the contract. The article acknowledged that NASA gave the astronauts the right to their personal stories, adding, "The U.S. taxpayer, who was financing the man-into-space project, was entitled to the full official story--free." The article also erroneously announced that the wives we co-signers on the contract.[43]

Sherrod wrote that "the rest of the press then landed on NASA with both feet"; however, a review of newspaper and magazine coverage shows that the outcry was concentrated, albeit muffled.[44]

The Associated Press's first mention of the contract was in the sixth paragraph of a story on August 26, 1959. In a news conference (attended by 50 reporters) following a demonstration of a space flight simulator, Shepard answered questions about the contract, stating the men could see no difference in their relationship with other newsmen--"we still consider it a national project, and all the technical details that are released will be discussed with the newsmen."[45] Yet an examination of newspapers August 26, 1959, showed no headlines on the subject. The *New York Times* used the AP story that mentioned the contract, but the article was cut.[46]

Former AP reporter Howard Benedict, who covered the astronauts for the duration of Project Mercury, remembered calling Walt Bonney to express his displeasure with the contracts. Benedict said

> I argued that the rest of the media would be blocked from learning much about the personal lives of those men, and I contended the public would be ravenous for information about their families, and we were being cut off completely from them.[47]

He added that Bonney "guaranteed regular press conferences and occasional private interviews with the astronauts, and they could answer any question we asked." Benedict added that he was skeptical of this view.[48]

Jay Barbree, the NBC news correspondent assigned to Project Mercury, said NBC also filed a complaint with NASA.[49] However, a historian with the NASA history office said there is no record of letters of complaint about the subject or responses by the agency. Bonney's personal records were not available for this study.[50]

In his speech to the UPI editors in 1960, Bonney said that, with the announcement of the contract, "all hell broke loose! Letters started coming in." The main concern, Bonney said, was would NASA or the astronauts withhold information for *Life?* This outcry, Bonney said, came in a letter from Washington Post managing editor Alfred Friendly. Bonney said Friendly wrote him August 27, 1959, to decry the contract, writing, "the question is what information will be released freely by the NASA and the Astronauts and what the seven astronauts might reserve for sale to private publications."[51]

Bonney said he responded

> There is nothing restrictive about the responses to the news media by the astronauts concerning their official duties. The astronauts understand this. It is my task to insure full compliance to this policy. NASA policy means that no one of the news media can obtain any preferential position concerning the officials duties of the astronauts. It means also that the personal story of the astronauts, and that only, belongs to the astronaut.[52]

This point was soon proved. On September 14, 1959, *Life* ran its first article about the astronauts, titled "The Astronauts--Ready To Make History." The eighteen-page section offered a look at each astronaut. The personality traits, background, and family history of each is detailed in word and pictures.[53] Bonney said Friendly wrote him a letter, marking each paragraph of the *Life* article, pointing out that certain passages in the magazine

> Contain information I had not known before. This merely may mean that I am not as informed as I should be on what information has already been publicly released. If it has in fact been made public, and even if the press in general has had ample opportunities to uncover the facts, neither I nor anyone else can complain. If, on the other hand, some of

> these passages, all dealing with the official project and not with the private life of the Astronauts, represent information of which the pres was never informed or never had the opportunity to be informed about, then I believe that NASA's official policy has been breached.[54]

Bonney said he answered Friendly's fire, showing how each item of information had been released to the media and his reporters had missed the information. Within a month, Friendly wrote Bonney and acquiesced, adding, "I am convinced that a substantial part of all the information I questioned in *Life*, if not all of it, was indeed available to anyone who cared to take the trouble to assemble the story." Bonney said Friendly, along with the AP, UPI, NBC, CBS, and ABC, and other news outlets, monitored the situation "carefully" throughout Project Mercury. [55]

Following these comments, it appeared the controversy over the contracts disappeared from the media coverage of Project Mercury. Between May, 1959, and September, 1960, Bonney orchestrated six press conferences, two press tours of the Space Task Group at Langley Field, and a media interview session following a Nevada survival training operation. Some 219 pages of transcribed questions and answers of more than 62,000 words, 24 news releases, and more than 600 still pictures were released in this first year alone. Bonnney said

> We have maintained an open-door policy at the Space Task Group and in the nearly 18 months since the Astronauts have been assigned tot he Project Mercury headquarters there, no media man (sic) has ever been refused permission to visit, nor has cooperation been withheld.[56]

If the media in general were granted broad access to the official stories of Project Mercury, what did the reporting team from *Life* cover? By journalistic definition, the stories were features. From a public relations standpoint, these stories are the most difficult to place and control. In the broadest sense, the articles show the astronauts as clean-cut, all-American boys, a viewpoint that went unchallenged until the Apollo contracts expired in the late 1960s. Sherrod said in the astronaut stories, the men and their families came out "deodorized, plasticized, and homogenized without anybody quite intending it that way."[57] For instance, one Life article on John Glenn showed pictures of his parents seated on the couch of their home in Ohio.58 Another *Life* cover showed Alan Shepard reading his fan mail in his backyard.[59]

Hamblin wrote

> *Life* treated the men and their families with kid gloves. So did most of the rest of the press. These guys were heros, most of them were very smooth, canny operators with all of the press. They felt that they had to live up to a public image of good clean all-American guys, and NASA knocked itself out to preserve that image.[60]

Shepard agreed, adding

> I think the agency wanted us to appear as all-American boys and our families as "mom and apple pie" families. So in that respect they may have made us seem bigger and more wholesome than we were.[61]

It was not until the July, 1994 broadcast of *Moon Shot* that the living astronauts admitted as a group that their lives in Cocoa Beach had been "less than wholesome."

The Contract Is Called Into Question

One year and a half into the term of the *Life* contract, there was an official statement on this subject from the White House. This coincided with the inauguration of John F. Kennedy as the country's 35th president on January 20, 1961. Kennedy inherited the astronauts, the space program, and the *Life* contracts. Sherrod wrote that Pierre Salinger, press secretary to President John Kennedy. announced March 6, 1961 that there would be no more exclusive contracts for Astronauts after Project Mercury ended, Sherrod added that Theodore Sorenson wrote in *Kennedy* that the president "did not approve of the rights granted by his predecessor to make large profits thought the exploitation of their names and stories while in military service."[62] Yet after the Gemini Nine were selected January 3, 1962, the question of new contractual arrangements was discussed. On September 16, 1962 a revised "Astronaut Policy" was announced.[63] The new policy, which applied to the Mercury 7 and the Gemini 9, reflected two months of study and included input from NASA officials, the Mercury and Gemini astronauts, and the media. The policy stated that the final recommendations "represented total concurrence of this committee."[64] Sherrod wrote the committee recommended approving future contracts not only because the astronauts benefited from them, but because "it made things easier for NASA, too." President Kennedy approved, with some conditions -- and these conditions made up the changes in the policy.[65]

The need for changes in the policy came after two incidents involving the Mercury 7 -- one in April of 1962, another three months later in July. Leo DeOrsey, still acting as agent to the astronauts, had negotiated for the donation of seven fully-furnished $24,000 homes in Houston; the homes were donated by a Houston builder's group at the time of the development of the Johnson Space Center in Houston. The *New York Times* wrote that, after the deal was made public, there was talk of a White House inquiry on the propriety of the deal. DeOrsey announced the astronauts "had decided to decline the offer."[66] In July, DeOrsey negotiated with Field Enterprises Educational Corporation of Chicago for $3.2 million for the personal stories of the astronauts. The first draft of this deal reportedly fell through because of NASA guidelines on the nature of "personal stories."[67]

With these events -- and Kennedy's recommendations -- in mind, major changes to astronaut policy addressed the astronauts' rights to sell their personal story. The policy stated that "provision for sale of the stories on this basis was endorsed in the belief it would make available to the public personal aspects of the Astronauts' lives that might otherwise not be available." Others in government service, the policy continued, had this opportunity. Why shouldn't the astronauts?[68]

The major changes in the policy allowed for a second post-flight news conference which would allow in-depth interviews with the astronauts. This would give the press more newsgathering time with the astronauts. The policy also prohibited any publication from advertising exclusivity of a story purchased from the astronauts, especially when the stories weren't wholly exclusive. This second statement addressed the fact that, late in Project

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mercury, *Life* called some stories exclusive when the information was available to the mainstream press.[69]

Another major change in the policy appeared on page two: "No investment will be made which might create the impression that any participant in this program is placed in a position of benefitting from the activities or decision of NASA itself." This statement was in direct reference to the Houston house deal.[70]

In September of 1963, four months after Gordon Cooper's historic final Mercury flight, the Mercury 7, represented by C. Leo DeOrsey, "re-upped" with *Time*, Inc. for a second contract. This contract included the Gemini Nine, and the language in the agreement was stronger and more restrictive.[71] But the contracts for personal stories were permitted to continue for another three years.

A Question of Accessibility

Accurate or inaccurate, Life's personal contract with the astronauts raised the eternal question: was *Life* "scooping" the rest of the press? Bonney himself said that Life was not. To this day, NASA officials are reluctant to talk about the contract. Bonney stressed in 1960 that exclusion was never his intention. He told of a visit from Williams Hines, then with the Washington *Star*. He said Hines shook his finger and said, "the day you hold out one bit of information that I or my paper is entitled to have, I'm going to blow the whistle so loud your eardrums will rupture." "My reply," Bonney said, "was 'fair enough'."[72]

Hamblin wrote that she did not think the contract blocked other publications from getting information about the astronauts. She wrote

> The men were available for interview every Friday and NASA itself set up frequent press conferences, put out a stream--nay, an avalanche--of materials about each flight and the men on it. They remained always available to the general press for interviews.[73]

Even former president Lyndon B. Johnson thought the contracts did not keep the press from going its job. He wrote to Sherrod that "these contracts did not limit the amount of information that other news agencies were allowed to get." [74] Shepard added

> There was an implication that *Life* had an exclusive on everything we did and that nobody else had access. It did shield our families from the press. And we were all rather naive about the press and media relationships in those days, so the contract provided us some protection. But the astronauts had regular news conferences, we didn't lie to anyone, and I don't think anybody on *Life* ever scooped anyone on anything that was really news.[75]

In fact, some reporters did "scoop" *Life*. Former Los Angeles Times reporter Joseph Bell wrote in 1989 that he "was the only writer to break through the *Life* barrier" when he spent a month with the astronauts at Langley Field.[76] Benedict's tenacious reporting as AP's space correspondent uncovered many personal stories. He scooped *Life* before John Glenn's orbital flight by following the astronaut to Riverside Presbyterian Church in Cocoa Beach on January 22, 1962, a few days before his orbital flight. Benedict said the *Life* reporters missed the story of Glenn signing autographs for Sunday School kids. His article showed a side of the astronaut rarely seen in a newspaper.[77]

Benedict added that persistent reporting often helped him land stories in the days of the contract. For instance, the AP's office was in the same hotel where the astronauts lived. Benedict said he would often run into the astronauts in the parking lot and strike up a conversation. Often, he added, they would come to the office to read the day's news on the AP wire, leading to discussions about "everyday things."[78]

Did *Life* fail to report the truth about the personal lives of the astronauts, thus changing the recorded history of the space program? With the publication of *The Right Stuff* in 1979, Wolfe questioned the "personal stories," and talk of drinking, fast cars, and marital infidelity was in the air.[79] Hamblin wrote

> I knew, of course, about some very shaky marriages, some womanizing, some drinking and never reported it. The guys wouldn't have let me, and neither would NASA. It was common knowledge that several marriages hung together only because the men were afraid NASA would disapprove of divorce and take them off flights. I do not think they were a wild bunch or any different from any other cross-section of well educated, well trained, middle class Americans.[80]

Does this omission mean *Life* changed history? The research showed no withholding of information in the official history of Project Mercury. As far as personal lives are concerned, it is unlikely that the media in the 1960s would "expose" a public figures for marital infidelity. One must look only at the coverage of the exploits of former President John Kennedy to see that example. The ethical standards and audience expectations were simply different then.

The fact is, the contract served well in one way: it offered the wives protection from media who converged on their lawns and knocked at their doors. In fact, Shepard, Bonney, and NASA administrator James Webb agreed that the contract offered a much-needed protection for the media-naive families. Story control was an added benefit. Webb wrote "If a society editor called up and said, 'I want to see Annie Glenn,' we couldn't have said, 'No, you can't see her,' but since she signed a *Life* contract, she could say 'no'."[81]

Conclusion

One difficulty in writing about a 1959 contract in 1994 is the difference in media standards. Since Watergate, the media have treated government officials differently. Treatment of NASA also has changed dramatically since the Challenger explosion in 1986. If *Time* or *Life* (or any media outlet) tried to strike a contract with Shuttle astronauts that restricted press access today, there would be an outcry far louder than in 1959. In fact, the media outcry grew louder with each subsequent contract, leading to their end after the Apollo missions.[82]

Another difficulty in dealing with this issue is that fact that NASA and Project Mercury were innovations in 1959. No one could use the argument of precedent, because there was no true precedent for media coverage of astronauts. Yet although the years between 1959 and 1963 were the "honeymoon period" in NASA's existence, the fact remains that reporters knew what to expect from the government, as far as news and information was concerned. They expected the same free press access of NASA that they received elsewhere in government. Bonney, on behalf of NASA, was trying to do the best job he could. Those who knew him said he was a honest, approachable man. Later forced to resign from NASA because of the Francis Gary Powers affair, Bonney may have been idealistic about the relationship between the media and NASA. But most of all, Bonney admitted in 1960 that he "was schooled to look at suspicion upon efforts by alert and diligent public relations people to 'sell' their story." This disdain may have been the real reason he divided the personal and official stories of Project Mercury -- he may have believed that all reporters shared his suspicion. Bonney said

> Our information office...NASA's...operates on a simple policy--to tell the truth, simply, and make it available, promptly. We do not try to 'push' or 'sell.' We do seek, and I dare say with reasonable accuracy, to make the information readily available. We feel, quite strongly, that is the prerogative and the responsibility, of the press to determine what is news.[41]

By allowing the astronauts to sell their own personal stories, he did not have to "push" or "sell" a story that he knew had little hard news value, but was essential to NASA's image and public support.

The hierarchy of the contract deal shows that NASA legally covered all bases: NASA gave the astronauts the right to their own personal stories; the astronauts signed an agent, who negotiated a contract; *Time* inc. bought the rights to the personal stories; *Life* published them. Did NASA "sell out" the astronauts? Technically, no, they did not. Did they participate in media control by setting up this scenario? Yes, but under the carefully crafted guise of protection of the astronauts and their families. More importantly, there is no evidence in the research that this happened to invoke censorship of the *official* operation of the early space program. Was any reporter ever denied access to the official stories of the Mercury 7 between 1959 and May, 1963? This research did not uncover any incidence during Project Mercury, although some reportedly occurred during Gemini and Apollo. Could reporters circumvent the *Life* contract with tenacious reporting? Yes, and the better reporters, like Howard Benedict, did just that. That, perhaps, is the significance of this study to journalism history: in spite of contracts and roadblocks, committed journalists still "got the story" and reported the news to their audience. Additional research on the careers of journalists like Howard Benedict show just how innovative print and broadcast reporters were in uncovering the embargoed news of the space program. These reporters created a new standard of news coverage and source credibility that is still in force today.

In the end, even Sherrod was forced to balance the question, pro-and-con. He concluded that "if there is ever another time, whatever reincarnation, a better way must be found." As Walt Bonney said in 1960, "Fair enough."

Notes

1. Staff, "Space Voyagers Rarin' to Orbit," *Life* Magazine, 20 April 1961: 22-27.

2. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract,": 5 August 1959: 1-4.

3. Robert Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts," Columbia Journalism Review, May/June, 1973: 16-25.

4. Tom Wolfe, *The Right Stuff*. (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1979.)

5. Congressional Record of the United State, October 1 1958: 1-26.

6. "A History of Project Mercury," NASA Spacelink Telnet Information.

7. "Seven to enter Mercury training center," NASA Official News Release No, 59-111: 1-3.

8. Walter T. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference," Washington D.C., 9 Sept. 1960: 1-14.

9. "Seven to enter Mercury training center."

10. "Press Conference Project Mercury Team," NASA official transcript, 9 April 1959: 1-36.

11. Alan Shepard and Deke Slayton, with Howard Benedict and Jay Barbree, *Moon Shot*. (Atlanta: Turner Publications, 1994.)

12. Shepard, et. al., *Moon Shot*.

13. Shepard, et. al., *Moon Shot*.

14. See undated draft "Project Mercury General Information Document."

15. Memorandum for the Administrator, "Policy concerning the Mercury Astronauts," 8 May 1959: 1

16. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

17. Lloyd Swenson, James Grimwood, and Charles Alexander, A History of Project Mercury. (NASA Spacelink, 1994).

18. "NASA Policy Concerning Mercury Astronauts," NASA News Release, 11 May 1959: 1-3.
19. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

20. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

21. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

22. John A. Johnson to T. Keith Glennan, "Memorandum for the Administrator," 8 May 1959: 1.

23. T. Keith Glennan to James R. Killian, Jr. Personal memorandum, 11 May 1959:1.

24. W. L. Hjornevik to Andrew J. Goodpaster, "Policy concerning Mercury astronauts," 12 May 1959:1.

25. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

26. Mail interview of Alan B. Shepard, Jr. by the author, 25 March, 1994.

27. NASA History Office, "Astronaut-DeOrsey Contract," 28 May, 1959:1-3.

28. Only six of the astronauts flew during Project Mercury; however, since Deke Slayton did not resign as an astronaut, he still received one-seventh of the figure. Shepard said they "wouldn't have had it any other way."

29. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

30. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract."

31. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract."

32. Personal correspondence of Dora Jane Hamblin to P. Michael Whye, undated. Whye wrote a master's thesis on the hero image of the space program from 1959-1970 at Iowa State University. It was unavailable for review.

33. Mail interview with Alan B. Shepard, Jr.

34. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract."

35. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract."

36. Hamblin to Whye, undated.

37. Mail interview with Alan B. Shepard, Jr.

38. NASA History Office, "DeOrsey-*Time*, Inc. Contract."

39. Mail interview with Alan B. Shepard, Jr.

40. Hamblin to Whye, undated.

41. A review of the *Time, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Memphis Commercial Appeal,* and *The Atlanta Constitution* yielded this information.

42. Andrew Heiskell, "The astronauts' own stories will appear only in *Life,*" *Life* Magazine, 24 August, 1959: 98-99.

43. "The Big Story," *Time* Magazine, 24 August 1959: 38.

44. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

45. Vern Haugland, "Astronaut Undergoes Stress of 9Gs In Mock Orbiting for 50 Newsmen," *The Atlanta Constitution,* 26 August 1959: 9.

46. A review of the *Time, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Memphis Commercial Appeal,* and *The Atlanta Constitution* yielded this information.

47. Mail interview with Howard S. Benedict by the author, 25 March, 1994.

48. Mail interview with Howard S. Benedict.

49. Mail interview with Jay Barbree by the author, 25 March 1994.

50. Personal interview with Lee Saegasser, NASA historian, 15 February 1994.

51. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

52. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

53. "*Life* is with it in a far-pit era," *Life* Magazine, 14 September 1959: 8, 26-42.

54. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

55. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

56. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

57. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

58. *Life* Magazine 19 May 1961.

59. Life Magazine 2 February 1962.

60. Personal correspondence of Dora Jane Hamblin to P. Michael Whye, 18 January 1971.

61. Mail interview with Alan B. Shepard, Jr.

62. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

63. "Policy Concerning Sale of Literary, Television and Radio Rights, and Endorsement of Commercial Products by Astronauts," Official NASA News Release No. 62-198, 16 September, 1962: 1-3.

64. "NASA Outlines Astronaut Policy," Official NASA News Release No. 62-199, 16 September, 1962: 1-2.

65. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

66. "Leo C. DeOrsey of Redskins, Adviser to Astronauts, is Dead," *The New York Times*, 1 May 1965: 35.

67. DeOrsey obituary. Also, Sherrod wrote that a deal was struck with Field Enterprises in late 1963.

68. "NASA Outlines Astronaut Policy."

69. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

70. "NASA Outlines Astronaut Policy."

71. NASA History Office, "Mercury Seven-Gemini Nine Contract," September, 1963: 1-23.

72. Bonney, "Remarks before the United Press International Editors Conference."

73. Personal correspondence of Dora Jane Hamblin to P. Michael Whye, 18 January 1971.

74. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

75. Mail interview with Alan B. Shepard, Jr.

76. Joseph N. Bell, "Mercury 7: Rare Breed of Heros," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 July 1989: Nexis Computer Information.

77. Howard Benedict, "Glenn Ducks Out To Hear Sermon," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 22 January 1962: 1,7.

78. Mail interview with Howard S. Benedict.

79. Tom Wolfe, *The Right Stuff.* (1979.)

80. Personal correspondence of Dora Jane Hamblin to P. Michael Whye, 18 January 1971.

81. Sherrod, "The selling of the astronauts."

CS

NEWSPAPER CONTEMPT BETWEEN THE WARS

Richard Scheidenhelm
Colorado State University -- Adjunct Faculty
3635 Aspen Ct.
Boulder, Colorado 80304

Phone: (303) 443-7542

ABSTRACT -- NEWSPAPER CONTEMPT BETWEEN THE WARS

Mark Graber has identified the "bad tendency" test of the 1917 Espionage Act and the 1918 *Toledo News-Bee* case as "a progressive standard" promoted by social science experts such as Walter Lippmann, Herbert Croly, Charles Warren, and Edward Corwin. The "bad tendency" test, as applied by a majority of the United States Supreme Court, appeared to permit the routine use of summary newspaper contempt proceedings to punish language possessing a "direct tendency to prevent and obstruct the discharge of judicial duty." A showing that the mind of a judge had been influenced by an out-of-court publication or that an article had been circulated in the courtroom was not required. "The wrong," wrote Chief Justice Edward D. White of the U.S. Supreme Court, "depends upon the tendency of the acts to accomplish this result without reference to the consideration of how far they may have been without influence in a particular case."

A spirited dissent in the *Toledo News-Bee* case had been filed by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who argued for an "actual obstruction" test -- that before a case of contempt by publication could be mounted in the federal courts, evidence that "a mind of reasonable fortitude" had been affected by the publication in question ought to be demonstrated. [1] The purpose of this essay is to trace the evolution of newspaper contempt from the conclusion of the *Toledo News-Bee* case to the case of *State v. American-News Co.*, decided by the South Dakota Supreme Court in 1936. By the time of the latter case, Justice Holmes' dissent had become the "law" of the *Toledo News-Bee* case, and the stage had been set for the demise of the crime of contempt by publication.

NEWSPAPER CONTEMPT BETWEEN THE WARS

Mark Graber has identified the "bad tendency" test of the 1917 Espionage Act and the 1918 Toledo News-Bee case as "a progressive standard" promoted by social science experts such as Walter Lippmann, Herbert Croly, Charles Warren, and Edward Corwin. The "bad tendency" test, as applied by a majority of the United States Supreme Court, appeared to permit the routine use of summary newspaper contempt proceedings to punish language possessing a "direct tendency to prevent and obstruct the discharge of judicial duty." A showing that the mind of a judge had been influenced by an out-of-court publication or that an article had been circulated in the courtroom was not required. "The wrong," wrote Chief Justice Edward D. White of the U.S. Supreme Court, "depends upon the tendency of the acts to accomplish this result without reference to the consideration of how far they may have been without influence in a particular case."

A spirited dissent in the Toledo News-Bee case had been filed by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who argued for an "actual obstruction" test -- that before a case of contempt by publication could be mounted in the federal courts, evidence that "a mind of reasonable fortitude" had been affected by the publication in question ought to be demonstrated. [1] The purpose of this essay is to trace the evolution of newspaper contempt from the conclusion of the Toledo News-Bee case to the case of State v. American-News Co., decided by the South Dakota Supreme Court in 1936. By the time of the latter case, Justice Holmes' dissent had become the "law" of the Toledo News-Bee case, and the stage had been set for the demise of the crime of contempt by publication.

A. The Omaha Bee

Whatever the source of the "bad tendency" test, it should be conceded that summary contempt proceedings sanctioned by the Toledo News-Bee case were put to many illiberal uses. Federal Judge Julius Mayer of New York City used the remedy in 1919 to discipline a lawyer who made a speech suggesting that judges be hanged. [2] In Southern Arizona, where extreme tension existed between miners and copper companies, the device was used to restrain criticism of a judge who interfered with a local election in 1922. [3] Federal Judge G.W. Rose of Memphis, Tennessee, employed the remedy twice in 1923 in an attempt to temper the language of the labor press during a national railway strike.

In Cohen v. United States, Ross summoned Jacob Cohen, the editor of the Labor Review, published in Memphis, to explain why his references to strikebreakers as "dirty scabs," "scavengers," "snakes," and "traitors" did not violate an injunction issued on behalf of the railroads. The injunction prohibited persons from "jeering at or insulting" railway employees. Dissatisfied with Cohen's response, Ross fined him $1,000 and sentenced him to six months in jail. [4] In a companion case, Ross fined G.V. Sanders, editor of the Memphis Press, $300 after Sanders published an account of Cohen's trial under the headline "The King Forbids." [5] Ultimately, the Sixth Circuit reversed Cohen's conviction, but Ross's point was clear.

A striking illustration of the purposes to which the contempt remedy was put was provided by Bee Publishing Company v. State, decided by the Nebraska Supreme Court in 1921. The case arose from the siege of an Omaha courthouse in the fall of 1919 by a mob whose purpose it was to lynch an inmate of the jail who was accused of "a heinous offense against a defenseless woman." The mob overpowered the police, seized and lynched the inmate, and set fire to the courthouse -- which was destroyed along with most of its contents.

Two boys arrested after the riot testified before a grand jury that they saw John H. Moore, a reporter for the Omaha Bee, "leading a gang of boys to the courthouse, carrying gasoline and oils for the purpose of aiding in the conflagration." The Bee responded to Moore's indictment by publishing affidavits from the boys that their testimony before the grand jury had been coerced by members of the Omaha Police Department. Moore was a target of perjured testimony, according to the Bee, because his investigations had unearthed "sensational and startling revelations" against the Department.

The article charged that when the boys told a police captain "they never had laid their eyes on the Bee reporter, the policeman replied that he would arrange it so they could see the man." The testimony of another witness to implicate Moore was characterized as the words of "a notorious bootlegger and a former policeman." A trial court judge fined the Bee and its editor, Victor Rosewater, $1,000 apiece. Although the judge found that Rosewater had no knowledge of the article before it was published, the judge found that "it would have met with his approval if it had been submitted to him." Reviewing the case two years later, the Nebraska Supreme Court upheld the fine against the Bee, but reversed the judgment against Rosewater. [6]

Walter Nelles and Carol Weiss King, writing in a 1928 edition of the Columbia Law Review, classified the case as one involving a "political situation ... of some intensity." The facts of the case, and of other cases during this period, however, were sublime. In the words of Nelles and King, "the truth, stripped of metaphysical buncombe as to inherence, is simply that summary power as to various contempts is expedient." Differences in result depended upon "whose ox is gored. ... The clearest tendency of doctrines of contempt by publication, if not their object ... is to power -- personal power for men who happen to be judges -- power to maintain at any social cost the prestige of the class or clan."[7]

B. The Supreme Court and Contempt

The reasonable tendency test embraced by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Toledo News-Bee decision appeared to reach beyond all limits. In a 1924 edition of The American Law Review, Richard W. Hale asked his readers to apply the test to the area of anti-trust.

> You cannot sever the Great Northern Railroad from the Northern Pacific Railway, split up the Tobacco or the Oil trust, or unscramble the Central Pacific Railway from the Southern Pacific Company without casting upon the court ... a duty the performance of which may be profoundly affected by public discussion. And [continued Hale] if the law is that no one may do anything which tends to intimidate the fearful or which has a tendency to obstruct the discharge of a duty to disintegrate a combination, or of a duty to let a trust live, then much of the discussion of anti-trust cases by political thinkers and economic writers must include criminal contempt of the courts which sit in them. Senator La Follette must be an artist in criminal contempt. [8]

Craig v. Hecht, the most well-known federal case of contempt by publication during this period, concerned a dispute betwen Judge Mayer and Charles L. Craig, Comptroller of the City of New York. In 1919, Mayer appointed a receiver for street railway companies in New York City -- an act that appeared to jeopardize the five-cent fare enjoyed by City residents.

Craig, hoping that "he would be able to delve into the bad past of the street railway systems and ... accomplish something substantial for the benefit of car riders," applied to be appointed as co-receiver. Mayer turned him down. Months later, Craig was invited to attend a conference "of all parties at interest in the transit situation." Craig refused to attend, writing a letter to the Chairman of New York's Public Service Commission charging Mayer with denying public representatives access to corporate franchise information. The letter was displayed to Judge Mayer, a protracted contempt proceeding followed; and, after Craig refused to retract the letter, Mayer sentenced him to sixty days in jail. [9]

Four years later, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Judge Mayer by a vote of 7-2. Justice Holmes dissented, arguing that the federal contempt statute "plainly limits the jurisdiction of the judge in this class of cases to those where his personal action is necessary in a strict sense in order to enable him to go on with his work." In Holmes' opinion, the sixty day jail sentence against Craig "was more than an abuse of power." It was, he said, "wholly void. ... Unless a judge while sitting can lay hold of any one who ventures to publish anything that tends to make him unpopular or to belittle him I cannot see what power Judge Mayer had to touch Mr. Craig."[10]

In the words of Alpheus Mason, "within days a storm of protest arose against the verdict." Prominent Republican leaders lobbied President Calvin Coolidge to pardon Craig. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, who had voted with the majority to uphold Judge Mayer, urged a pardon, telling Coolidge: "I can't keep my mind off the Craig case." [11] Coolidge bowed to the pressure and remitted Craig's sentence. It could have been worse. At that time, a separation of powers argument was available to the effect that contempt judgments by federal courts were not subject to pardons by the executive branch. [12]

Reviewing the case, Hale wrote: "the future looks dark and full of the probability of further and undesirable conflict." [13] Felix Frankfurter, a young Harvard Law School professor who had been active as a mediator in the Arizona copper fields, called the Craig decision a "perversion of law" and urged legislation to "put an end to an intolerable tyranny." [14] By the 1924-25 session of the Supreme Court, the pressure for change was translated into two decisions that incrementally improved the law of contempt.

In Michaelson v. United States, the Court upheld the Constitutionality of the 1914 Clayton Act, which mandated jury trials in some cases of criminal contempt. The Court ruled, however, that the Clayton Act did not address contempt by publication. [15] In Cooke v. United States, the Court reversed the convictions of a lawyer and client who had been sentenced to thirty days in jail after writing a letter requesting the disqualification of a trial court judge. Taft found the procedure "unfair and oppressive," and ordered another judge to hear the charge. "All we can say upon the whole matter," wrote Taft, "is that where conditions do not make it impracticable, or where the delay may not injure public or private right, a judge called upon to act in a case of contempt by personal attack upon him, may, without flinching from his duty, properly ask that one of his fellow judges take his place."[16]

These decisions, as tentative as they were, permitted discussion of alternatives to contempt by publication. A case might be delayed, for example, to permit the effects of a newspaper report to subside.[17] Juries might be instructed to abstain from reading newspaper accounts of the trials in which they were sitting or to disregard articles that might interfere with their deliberations.[18]

More importantly, if the U.S. Supreme Court recognized some legislative limits on contempt, as was done in Michaelson, might not other legislative limits be attempted? Some states, for example, experimented with jury trials in cases of newspaper contempt.[19] Other states went beyond the permissive language of Cooke v. United States to require the recusal of judges in cases of indirect contempt. The leading case in this regard was Briggs v. Superior Court, decided by the California Supreme Court in 1931. This case, which concerned articles and cartoons in the Los Angeles Record that allegedly interfered with a grand jury investigation, upheld a 1927 California law requiring that a motion to disqualify a judge in a case of indirect contempt be heard by another judge.[20]

Several other cases during this period adopted this approach. In Seltzer v. State, decided by an Ohio appellate court in 1930, thirty day jail sentences imposed upon the editor and an editorial writer of the Cleveland Press were thrown out with the following admonition: "He [the judge of the lower court] should have referred the case to an associate and have given his statement as a witness rather than as a Judge from the bench."[21] In Snyder's Case, decided by the Pennsylvania

Supreme Court in 1930, the decision of a three-judge panel disbarring the Schuylkill County District Attorney for criticizing a judge in a political campaign was reversed because the offended judge sat on the panel.[22]

C. Outrages on Justice

In 1930, Realist Jerome Frank published Law and the Modern Mind. Law, argued Frank, "may vary with the personality of the judge who happens to pass upon any given case."[23] So it was with the law of newspaper contempt. In some cases, the punishments handed down had, in the words of Nelles and King, "more tendency than the publications to bring the administration of justice into disrepute."[24] An example was provided by the 1925 case of Haines v. District Court, in which the editor of the Des Moines Daily News was sentenced to one day in jail after characterizing the written opinions of a trial court judge as "the labored efforts of a village smart-alec." The Iowa Supreme Court reversed the judgment, finding that the unusual literary style of the judge provoked unfavorable comment.[25]

In other cases, appellate courts refused to get the message. In 1928, the Michigan Supreme Court upheld a jail sentence for an interview alleging that a case "smells to heaven."[26] In 1933, A New Jersey Court of Chancery judge summarily disbarred attorneys who suggested that "an honest Vice Chancellor, who has nothing to fear, should welcome an investigation of his office, if only to give it a clean bill of health."[27] The Florida Supreme Court upheld a fine and jail sentence in 1935 in a case where a newspaper mixed up the names of two judges.[28] A 1939 opinion by the Georgia Court of Appeals upheld a ten day jail sentence in a case where the owner of a movie theater posted the following sign: "Due to selfish contemptible interests we are temporarily restrained from showing 'Ecstasy.' We will bring this picture to you pending court decision." [29]

The most persistent use of contempt by publication during the Twenties was offered by the courts of Indiana -- a state that, for a time, fell under the political control of the Ku Klux Klan. Dale v. State, decided by the Indiana Supreme Court in 1926, concerned the indictment of George R. Dale, publisher of the Muncie Post-Democrat, for violating the liquor laws. Dale, who had been engaged in fighting the Klan since 1922 and who had been physically assaulted by Klan members, responded by charging that his indictment was part of a general conspiracy by the Klan to discredit him and his newspaper.

Trial judge Clarence W. Dearth, a prominent spokesman for the Klan in Indiana, fined Dale $500 and imposed two ninety-day jail sentences -- one for the article in the Post-Democrat and one for filing an answer to the contempt charge that contained a verbatim copy of the article. The Indiana Supreme Court, which characterized Dale's offense as a "direct" rather than "indirect" contempt, upheld the first sentence, but reversed the judgment based upon the answer as duplicative. [30]

When Professor Hugh Evander Willis of the Indiana School of Law criticized the Dale opinion as "an outrage on justice" and "judicial tyranny," the editors of the Indiana Law Journal felt obliged to publish a disclaimer. "Our readers will, of course, understand that this article and all other articles in our Journal are written from the professional point of view and do not in any way purport to present a political view." [31]

In 1927, the Indiana Supreme Court found Edward S. Shumaker, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Indiana, guilty of contempt. Shumaker, along with others, had prepared a pamphlet criticizing the Court for its opinions on Prohibition, and, specifically, for adopting the exclusionary rule in cases of illegal search and seizure. The pamphlet charged one of the justices with being "bitterly hostile to prohibition," alleged that liquor interests sought to control the courts, and concluded by urging readers to "give us a Supreme Court that will be dry and not wet" at the next election. The pamphlet was distributed throughout the state by Shumaker's fellow clergymen and members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The Court appointed a committee of six attorneys, including the President of the Indiana Bar Association, an ex-Attorney General, and two retired Supreme Court judges, to assist in trying the case. Even though the pamphlet concerned decisions that "had been disposed of several years before the criticism was published," the Court fined Shumaker $250 and sentenced him to the Indiana State Farm for a period of sixty days. [32]

The Shumaker case is best understood in the context of an effort to break the power of the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana. In 1925, David Curtis Stephenson, the leader of the Klan in Indiana, had been convicted of rape and murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. By 1929, Mayor John Duvall of Indianapolis had been convicted of violating the Corrupt Practices Act and sent to prison. Judge Dearth had been impeached by the by the Indiana House of Representatives and narrowly escaped conviction in the Senate for his harassment of George R. Dale of the Muncie Post-

Democrat. Governor Ed Jackson had been indicted for bribery, but escaped conviction by pleading the statute of limitations.[33]

The prosecutor in Shumaker's case was Arthur L. Gilliom, Indiana's Attorney General, who spearheaded the effort to break the Klan between 1925 and 1929. In 1927, Gilliom filed a motion to increase Shumaker's sentence on the basis of Shumaker's lobbying with prominent politicians for a favorable verdict. Those contacted by Shumaker included Indiana's two United States Senators -- Arthur R. Robinson, formerly a legal adviser to the Klan, and James E. Watson, supported by the Klan. After Gilliom's motion was denied, Governor Jackson intervened on Shumaker's behalf, issuing a pardon on the day Shumaker reported to prison. Gilliom then persuaded the Indiana Supreme Court to declare the pardon null and void. Citing separation of powers, the Court ordered Shumaker to prison again; and, in February, 1929, Shumaker reported to serve his sentence. Six months after his release, Shumaker was dead.[34]

State v. Shumaker presented a frontal challenge to press reporting of judicial functions, because the language of the majority opinion cut so broadly. The pamphlet was contemptuous, said the majority, because it was "well calculated to affect the mind of a timid judge who might be concerned as to his re-election and to influence his decision improperly in like cases which were pending or which might be later filed."[3]

In addition to adopting the "timid judge" standard, the decision implied "that criticism of past cases is prohibited because there are pending cases involving the same general principle of law." To take this language "to its logical conclusion," wrote a commentator in the Indiana Law Journal, would "practically put an end to the freedom of speech and liberty of the press as far as the court, judges, and their decisions were concerned." [36] It was not until 1935 that the Indiana Supreme Court receded from the Shumaker decision and held that the misstatement of past matters of fact could not be said to obstruct the administration of justice. [37]

The mid-Twenties represented the high water mark for the doctrine of newspaper contempt. In a case decided by the New Mexico Supreme Court in 1924, Carl Magee, editor of the New Mexico State Tribune, was fined $4,050 and ordered to serve a year in jail after criticizing the conduct of a criminal libel trial in which he had been involved. When the governor pardoned him, the judge cited him again for contempt. When Magee complained that he was being denied due process of law, the judge ordered him to jail for ninety days for direct contempt. Again, the governor intervened to pardon Magee. [38] In State v. Owens, decided by the Oklahoma Supreme Court in 1927, a litigant was fined $5,000 and sent to jail for one year after a protracted dispute involving the disqualification of state supreme court justices (and publication of the same in the Tulsa World). [39]

These cases provided the best evidence of the need to reform the law of newspaper contempt. A commentator found guilty on such facts, observed Harold Laski, was at the "mercy of the very court he may be seeking by his criticism to protect." [40] Responding to the jail sentence in the Shumaker case, "most of the church congregations [in Anderson, Indiana] stood as a unit when asked to stand if they were opposed to the penalty imposed by the court." [41] The result of such decisions, wrote lawyer O.O. Brinkman, "is ever-increasing contempt of the courts as a whole." 42

D. Obstruction in Fact?

The critique of the law of newspaper contempt that developed during the 1920s was led by legal academics. The initial thrust in this effort was provided by Sir John Fox, who in 1908 began publishing a series of articles concerning the law of constructive contempt in England. Fox demonstrated that the power of courts to summarily punish contempt by publication was not derived from antiquity. Rather, such contempts had been tried before juries until well into the eighteenth century. Cases citing the immemorial usage of a more summary remedy had simply been "founded on a fallacy." 43

Fox's argument was echoed by Felix Frankfurter, who published an article in a 1924 edition of the Harvard Law Review referring to the "amazing historical solecism" of Chief Justice White in deciding the Toledo News-Bee case. Frankfurter concluded by saying: "At least let us not import into the Constitution of the United States discredited practices of Stuart England." 44

Of all the commentary in legal journals, the Columbia Law Review articles published by Nelles and King in 1928 provided the most telling criticism of the doctrine of newspaper contempt. The law of contempt by publication, they argued, painted a picture in which "the element of arbitrament is absent. If any picture of social summum bonum underlies those decisions, it is a pastoral picture, in which docile human sheep lick the hands of omnipotent shepherds." 45

In 1928, Harold Laski of the London School of Economics and Political Science summed up academic sentiment by calling the doctrine of constructive contempt "an anachronism which few persons, not themselves judges, have found themselves able to defend." [46] Three years later, Judge Leon R. Yankwich of the Los Angeles County Superior Court reminded his readers of the story of the King's new clothes. "Enlightened social policy," wrote Yankwich, "demands that, in dealing with the problem of contempt, we recognize the right of the man in the street to say that the king is naked, when he is naked." [47]

Academic criticism of the doctrine of newspaper contempt was, to some extent, anticipated by judges. Sitting by designation on a three-judge panel in the Second Circuit that was reviewing a habeas corpus petition filed by Charles L. Craig in 1922, Learned Hand filed a notable dissent to the decision of two other judges to uphold Judge Mayer's decision to send Craig to jail.

Hand asked his readers to suppose that it could be shown in cases of newspaper criticism "that it is the purpose of the editors to influence the court in future cases of that general character, by showing that the decision meets with popular disapproval." He argued that for an editor "probably that is often the intent. ... I cannot suppose," Hand continued, "that immunity depends upon the absence of any such purpose. If so, the editors stand in more peril than I believe they suppose. ...

> It is in small encroachments upon the right of free criticism of all the acts of public officials that the real danger lies. If a judge may punish those who indirectly interfere with possible decisions, remote in time ..., the line between that and punishment for unseemly or false comment upon past decisions becomes so shadowy as in application to disappear. It will, in effect, be practically impossible to show that the utterer did not have in mind the future

> effect of his words upon similar cases in the future.

Hand's proposed guideline was as follows: "Rather, as it seems to me, it must be shown either that the words refer to future decisions, and constitute in substance a threat, or that owing to the immediacy of some case, they in fact constitute an immediate intimidation." 48

In 1923, the Florida Supreme Court adopted a similar line of reasoning in Ex parte Earman. The case involved a letter composed by a West Palm Beach municipal court judge, Joe L. Earman, to a trial court judge, Edwin C. Davis, who was a candidate for appointment to the federal bench. A white businessman had been picked up in a black house of prostitution, had entered a plea of guilty to a charge of lewd and lascivious conduct, and had been sentenced by Earman to twenty days at hard labor.

After the businessman posted bond and secured counsel for a new trial in Davis's court, Earman announced that he was releasing all defendants caught in the raid, as "the law should apply equally to all men." Davis threw out the charge, prompting the Mayor of West Palm Beach, L. Garland Biggers, to call Davis "Weak as Water" in a speech before the Florida League of Municipalities. Davis responded by finding Earman and Biggers in contempt, and sentenced each of them to ten days in jail.

Citing the Toledo News-Bee decision as the law of the case, the Florida Supreme Court threw out the convictions as not warranting imprisonment "even if such statements have a real tendency 'to embarrass the court in the administration of justice.'" The majority opinion adopted the language of Justice Holmes' dissent in the Toledo case -- referring to the "ordinary firmness of character a circuit judge is supposed to have. ... The judge [Davis] did in fact dispose of the case in due course within his judicial authority," the opinion concluded. "This shows the judicial functions were not impeded." [49]

It should be noted that such language was not adopted during the Twenties and early Thirties by a majority of the U.S. Supreme Court. The "clear and present danger" language first employed by Holmes in the 1919 case of Schenck v. United States had been used to affirm the conviction of a Socialist anti-draft organizer for violating the Espionage Act. [50] During the Twenties, Holmes and Brandeis used the phrase to dissent from decisions by the Court affirming the convictions of anarchists and communists. [51]

In 1929, a unanimous Supreme Court upheld the contempt conviction of Harry F. Sinclair, who had hired a detective agency to shadow jurors in a criminal case. The Court's opinion contained language derived from the Toledo News-Bee case: "There was probable interference with an appendage of the court while in actual operation; the inevitable tendency was towards evil, the destruction, indeed, of trial by jury." [52] Such language was repeated by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes in the landmark 1931 Near v. Minnesota opinion: "There is also the conceded authority of courts to punish for contempt when publications directly tend to prevent the proper discharge of judicial functions." [53]

The central case that applied alternative language to newspaper contempt during the Thirties was decided by a state supreme court. State v. American News Company, decided by the South Dakota Supreme Court in 1936, involved the conviction of a county auditor for forgery, for which a suspended sentence of six months in the county jail and a fine of $300 were imposed. The Aberdeen papers responded by calling the sentence "A Pat on the Back," and asked the judge to "doff his regal robes, don sackcloth and sit in the ashes until his penitence is complete." Acting on the complaint of a local bar association, a contempt proceeding was commenced and a visiting judge was summoned to hear the matter. Eventually, the business manager and editor of the newspapers were fined $200 apiece and issued suspended sentences of thirty days.

Citing Fox, Nelles and King, and other academic writers, the South Dakota Supreme Court reversed the convictions, saying: "We believe that any publication, to be punishable as contempt, should be embarrassing or obstructive to the administration of justice in a pending case, and obstructive in fact rather than in theory or by possibility." The Court specifically held that the articles in question had been intended to bring the court into contempt and warned that lawyers who advised such publications were doing so at their risk. It was the language of Justice Holmes dissenting in the Toledo News-Bee case that the state supreme court adopted, however, and not the "reasonable tendency" language of the majority opinion. [54]

What was obstruction in fact? Some cases appeared to illustrate the concept more clearly than others. There was, for example, the case of State v. Gehrz, decided by the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1922, where circulars arraigning the practices of the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company were distributed to a jury sitting in a personal injury case involving the company. [55] There was the case of In re Lee, decided by the Maryland Supreme Court in 1936, where a three-judge panel decided to delay the announcement of a verdict in a murder conspiracy case in order to permit the jury trial of a co-conspirator to proceed. Reporters from the Washington Herald, resorting to "some eavesdropping method," discovered the verdict -- which was published along with an account of the judges' deliberations. The newspaper was fined $5,000 and one of its reporters was sentenced to ninety days. 56

Other courts, however, simply dodged the issue. The case of State v. Coleman, decided by the Missouri Supreme Court in June, 1941, avoided references to "clear and present dangers" or obstruction in fact; and was decided instead on the theory that there was no pending case for a publication to interrupt. The case concerned an editorial and cartoon in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch describing an aborted extortion trial of the officers of a union of motion picture operators in terms of a skit in a burlesque theater. In reversing the contempt citations issued by a trial court judge, the Missouri Supreme Court disregarded the possibility that the extortion charges could be reinstated by a trial court and ruled that "a publication, however scandalous concerning a case which has been closed, is not punishable as a contempt." 57

E. Speed and Entertainment

As courts experimented with new standards to apply to newspaper contempts, the language employed by some of the judges became emphatic. Dissenting in a 1936 case, Chief Justice W.B. Sands of the Montana Supreme Court asked: "Are we going to cite into court every man or woman or newspaper who criticizes the court in its decisions? Such a ... course of conduct smacks too much of Hitler and Mussolini to meet with my sense of fairness and justice. ... If we are so thin skinned that we cannot 'take it,'" Sands continued, "... then we may properly be designated as the 'five irascible old men,' and we should resign and permit courageous men not thus easily influenced to administer justice for this tribunal." [58]

Judge Alvin C. Reis of Madison, Wisconsin, dismissed the argument that court reporting should be "muzzled" in a 1938 case, saying: "We fellows who are in the [business of saying] interesting things to the public have to expect to be scorched at any time. The press is at liberty to do so. ... I've been in public life for 15 years," Reis continued," and I know that a man in public life has to expect he will be commented upon. ... None of us is cloistered." [59]

Judge Yankwich, a former newspaper lawyer, called the doctrine of newspaper contempt "an absurd and illogical situation, based on outmoded pattern of thought." [60] The new communications technologies demonstrated just how outmoded this thinking was. In a 1939 edition of Notre Dame Lawyer, Niel Plummer and Frank Thayer of the University of Wisconsin argued that "the appearance of the radio as a news agency and the increasing emphasis upon pictorial journalism ... offer new problems which as yet have not been explored satisfactorily." [61]

Radio threatened to abrogate the traditional legal distinctions between the spoken and written word. Radio enlarged the audience for the spoken word; it made constructive contempt "increasingly intensive." An illustration was provided by the 1930 case of Ex parte Shuler -- in which the California Supreme Court upheld a fifteen-day jail sentence against "Fighting Bob" Shuler, an anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic Los Angeles minister who delivered barrages of radio criticism over the prosecution of a former Los Angeles County District Attorney and his deputy for bribery.

Responding to a decision to set bail at $250,000, Shuler accused judges of "doing everything on earth they can to shield this bunch of felons. ... I call your attention to the fact," said Shuler, "that with enough ... courts in session to make a flock, a bunch of bankers, brokers and usurers have been able to steal millions of dollars of the people's money and, by ruling after ruling of the courts, ... these criminals now walk out gleefully, scot free." [61]

Ex parte Sturm, decided by the Maryland Court of Appeals in 1927, presented a circus of photojournalism. Hearing the noise of a camera flash attachment, a trial judge presiding over a murder trial demanded that the photographer turn over the plate. The photographer, who had already put the plate containing the picture of the murder suspect in his pocket, handed the judge a blank plate. During the trial, another photographer seated at a press table proceeded to take surreptitious pictures in the courtroom with a small camera. Two of the pictures were then published in Baltimore newspapers.

The photographers, a city editor, and two managing editors were summoned before the court and sentenced to a day in jail, with an additional fine of $5,000 levied against the editor in chief. The positions of the judiciary and the press in this case could not have been more diametrically opposed. One of the managing editors testified: "I don't believe the court has the right to forbid the taking of pictures in the court." The Court of Appeals opinion, which referred to the "prurient curiosity" of "portions of the community," upheld the right of a trial judge to prohibit "photographic means of picturing [the defendant's] ...

plight in the toils of the law." 63

These cases highlighted the distinction between news as an interpretive medium and news as entertainment. Plummer and Thayer explained the problem by noting that "a newspaper can go no further nor no faster than its readers will permit." The "two-fold standard for the press," they argued, was now speed and entertainment. "Speed precludes satisfactory research for interpretative material, no matter how commendable the ideals of a particular newspaper may be, while in the providing of entertainment the press often finds itself accused of two faults -- triviality in choice of some material and invasion of an individual's privacy in the disproportionate display of certain stories."

It was not the fault of the press, explained Plummer and Thayer, that newspapers were portrayed as "instigators of ruthless investigations" or "an agency of persecution." Newspapers "follow the leads of law enforcing agencies." 64 This analysis followed the argument of "Trial by Newspaper," an article by Stuart H. Perry published in a 1932 edition of the United States Law Review. "There is very little offense chargeable against the press," wrote Perry, "in which it is not led or abetted by lawyers, judges, and other public officers."

Public officials, explained Perry, were in the business of "trading official information and official favor for newspaper publicity and newspaper influence." Peace officers were "creatures of politics." Prosecutors and judges were generally elected officials, who welcomed free advertising and feared "the indifference or hostility of a powerful newspaper." In a 1936 edition of Scribners, Paul Hutchinson wrote: "The plain truth is that if the press is making a scandal out of our treatment of crime ... it is doing so only to the extent to which our officers of justice are willing, and frequently eager, to have it so." If the dignity of courts was at risk, "the antics of some attorneys in the course of ... trial" might be a cause. [65]

The lesson of the doctrine of newspaper contempt was that courts had attempted through its use to declare what public opinion should be. The pitfalls of this strategy -- as uneven and haphazard as it was -- were obvious. In a 1931 edition of the United States Law Review, Martin T. Manton, Senior Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, bemoaned the fact that "the public generally depreciates and distrusts the legal profession." An anonymous speaker was quoted as saying: "The racketeer is the only person today who gets real justice, because he takes a gun in his hand and says 'I am a law unto myself.'"

Manton proposed to redress this "attack upon the foundations of our government and the existing social order" through a "bureau or committee of competent lawyers" who could translate legalese to the general public. "The legal implications of current events of general interest shall ... be offered the newspapers," wrote Manton, "in some such way as the Medical Information Bureau ... now serves the public and the medical profession." He called his article: "'Popularizing' the Law and 'Legalizing' the News." [66]

Eight years later, Manton was found guilty of conspiring to obstruct the administration of justice and conspiring to defraud the United States. It seems that Manton had accepted substantial bribes to decide the cases that came before him. [67]

NOTES

1. Mark A. Graber, Transforming Free Speech: The Ambiguous Legacy of Civil Libertarianism, pp. 48, 82-86 (University of California Press, 1991). The Toledo News-Bee case refers to Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, 247 U.S. 402 (1918). The quoted language of Chief Justice White may be found at 247 U.S. 419-21. Holmes' dissent is at 247 U.S. 423-26.

2. United States v. Markewich, 261 F. 537 (S.D.N.Y. 1919). This was the same Judge Mayer who presided over the trials of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman for conspiring to violate the selective service law and of Scott Nearing for violating the Espionage Act.

3. Van Dyke v. Superior Court, 211 P. 576 (Ariz. 1922).

4. Cohen v. United States, 295 F. 633 (6th Cir. 1924). For a brief discussion of the railway strike and the injunction, see Margaret Blanchard, Revolutionary Sparks, pp. 132-33.

5. United States v. Sanders, 290 F. 428 (W.D.Tenn. 1923).

6. Bee Publishing Co. v. State, 185 N.W. 339 (Neb. 1921).

7. Nelles and King, "Contempt by Publication in the United States," 28 Columbia Law Review at 544-46, 548, 553.

8. Richard W. Hale, "Public Opinion as Contempt of Court," 58 American Law Review 481, 495-96 (1924).

9. Craig v. Hecht, 263 U.S. 255 (1923); Hale, supra, at 482-89.

10. 263 U.S. at 280-82.

11. Alpheus Thomas Mason, William Howard Taft: Chief Justice, pp. 144-45 (Simon and Schuster, 1964).

12. Ex parte Grossman, 267 U.S. 87, which upheld a Presidential pardon over a judgment of contempt rendered by a federal court judge, was not decided until 1925.

13. Hale, supra, at 482.

14. From "Lese Majeste Mayer," an unsigned editorial in the New Republic, December 12, 1923, reprinted by Philip B. Kurland, ed., Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court: Extrajudicial Essays on the Court and the Constitution, pp. 145, 147 (Harvard University Press, 1970).

15. Michaelson v. United States, 266 U.S. 42, 65-66 (1924).

16. Cooke v. United States, 267 U.S. 517, 538-39 (1925). Rule 42(b) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure now requires a judge to disqualify himself "if the contempt charged involves disrespect to or criticism of a judge." The rule was authorized by a 1941 Act of Congress delegating to the U.S. Supreme Court the power to make rules concerning criminal contempt.

17. This was the alternative employed by Judge Learned Hand of the federal district court in New York City after he read a newspaper interview with the plaintiff in an alienation of affections lawsuit on the day the case was scheduled to be tried before a jury. Note on "Trial by Newspaper," 28 Harvard Law Review 605 (1915).

18. S.S. Gill, "Contempt of Court by Publication," 24 California Law Review 114, 119-20 (1935).

19. State v. Angevine, 177 P. 701 (Wash. 1919).

20. Briggs v. Superior Court, 297 P. 3 (Cal. 1931).

21. Seltzer v. State, 31 Ohio L.B. 394 (1930). See also O.O. Brinkman, "Contempt of Court," 18 Georgetown Law Journal 287, 290 (1930).

22. Snyder's Case, 152 A. 33 (Pa. 1930). See also Ex parte Pease, 57 S.W. 575 (Tex.Crim.App. 1933).

23. Jerome Frank, Law and the Modern Mind, p. 111 (Brentano's, 1930).

24. Nelles and King, 28 Columbia Law Review at 549.

25. Haines v. District Court, 202 N.W. 268 (Iowa 1925).

26. *Campbell v. Jeffries*, 221 N.W. 138 (Mich. 1928).

27. *In re Megill*, 169 A. 501 (N.J.Chanc. 1933). The judge's response was: "I would welcome such an investigation to about the same extent that counsel ... would welcome an indictment for rape ..."

28. *Cormack v. Coleman*, 161 So. 844 (Fla. 1935).

29. *Carter v. State*, 6 S.E.2d 175 (Ga.App. 1939).

30. *Dale v. State*, 150 N.E. 781 (Ind. 1926). For a narrative concerning the ongoing battle between George Dale, the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, and Judge Dearth, see Bradford W. Scharlott, "The Hoosier Journalist and the Hooded Order: Indiana Press Reaction to the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s," 15 *Journalism History* 122, 126-27 (1988).

31. Hugh Evander Willis, 2 *Indiana Law Journal* 309, 312 (1927).

32. *State v. Shumaker*, 157 N.E. 769 (Ind. 1927).

33. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan*, 1865-1965, pp. 162-74 (Doubleday & Co., 1965); Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930*, pp. 144-60 (Oxford University Press, 1967); Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*, pp. 215-47 (Simon and Schuster, 1987).

34. *State v. Shumaker*, 162 N.E. 441; 163 N.E. 272; 164 N.E. 408 (Ind. 1928). For Shumaker, see 21 *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 407 (James T. White & Co., 1931).

35. *State v. Shumaker*, 157 N.E. at 779.

36. Note by C.Z.B., 10 *Indiana Law Journal* 416, 419 (1935).

37. *Nixon v. State*, 193 N.E. 591 (Ind. 1935).

38. *State v. Magee Publishing Co.*, 224 P. 1028 (N.M. 1924). Leon R. Yankwich, "The Use and Abuse of Contempt Commitments," 65 *United States Law Week* 481, 487-88 (1931).

39. State v. Owens, 256 P. 704 (Okla. 1927).

40. Harold J. Laski, "Procedure for Constructive Contempt in England," 41 Harvard Law Review 1031, 1037 (1928).

41. From the Indianapolis News, August 8, 1927, quoted by Justice Clarence R. Martin, State v. Shumaker, 163 N.E. at 276.

42. O.O. Brinkman, 18 Georgetown Law Journal at 293.

43. Sir John C. Fox, The History of Contempt of Court, p. 226 (Oxford, 1927).

44. Felix Frankfurter and James M. Landis, "Power of Congress Over Procedure in Criminal Contempts in Federal Courts -- A Study in Separation of Powers," 37 Harvard Law Review 1010, 1030, 1037 (1924). Frankfurter was a strong critic of the press during his years as a Harvard Law School professor. See his chapter on "Newspapers and Criminal Justice" in Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter, eds., Criminal Justice in Cleveland, pp. 515-27 (The Cleveland Foundation, 1922).

45. Nelles and King, 28 Columbia Law Review at 553.

46. Laski, 41 Harvard Law Review at 1033.

47. Yankwich, 65 United States Law Review at 495. For another academic view of the doctrine of newspaper contempt published in the mid-Thirties, see Cromwell Holmes Thomas, Problems of Contempt of Court: A Study in Law and Public Policy, pp. 19-36 (Baltimore, 1934).

48. Ex parte Craig, 282 F. 138, 160 (2nd Cir. 1922). For an earlier critique by Hand of the "reasonable tendency" test, see his opinion in the Masses Publishing Company case, 244 F. 535; reversed by the Second Circuit in 1917 (246 F. 24).

49. Ex parte Earman, 95 So. 755, 757, 762-63; Ex parte Biggers, 95 So. 763-64 (Fla. 1923).

50. Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

51. See the dissents of Holmes in Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919), and in Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652 (1925). See also the dissent of Brandeis in Schaefer v. United States, 251 U.S. 466 (1920), and his concurring opinion in Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357 (1927).

52. Sinclair v. United States, 279 U.S. 749, 765 (1929).

53. Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697, 715 (1931).

54. State v. American-News Co., 266 N.W. 827, 833 (S.D. 1936).

55. State v. Gehrz, 189 N.W. 461 (Wis. 1922).

56. In re Lee, 183 A. 560 (Md.App. 1936).

57. State v. Coleman, 152 S.W.2d 640, 647 (Mo. 1941). For a brief but interesting account of this proceeding, see Roger Butterfield, "An Editor Must Have No Friends," Collier's, December 23, 1950, pp. 31, 48. Academic treatment of this case can be found in Milton I. Goldstein, "Contempt of Court and the Press in Missouri," 7 Missouri Law Review 229 (1942).

58. In re Nelson, 60 P.2d 365, 378 (Mont. 1936).

59. Editor & Publisher, March 5, 1938, p. 38.

60. Yankwich's speech to a Sigma Delta Chi gathering in San Francisco in October, 1940, is reported in Editor & Publisher, October 26, 1940, p. 14.

61. Niel Plummer and Frank Thayer, "The Press and Out-of-Court Contempt," 14 Notre Dame Lawyer 258, 261 (1939).

62. Ex parte Shuler, 292 P. 481, 486-87 (Cal. 1930). Shuler's battle with the Federal Radio Commission over the renewal of the license of his radio station is recounted in chapter one of Lucas A. Powe, American Broadcasting and the First Amendment (University of California Press, 1987).

63. Ex parte Sturm, 136 A. 312 (Md.App. 1927). For an account of this trial, see Note by Alfred Appel in 12 Cornell Law Quarterly 372 (1927). For similar cases, see Editor & Publisher, October 30, 1937, p. 11; and Ex parte Arnold, 503 S.W.2d 529 (Tex.Crim.App. 1974).

64. Plummer and Thayer, 14 Notre Dame Lawyer at 267.

65. Stuart H. Perry, "Trial by Newspaper," 66 United States Law Review 374, 378-79 (1932). Hutchinson's article in Scribners is quoted by Plummer and Thayer, supra, at 263.

66. Martin T. Manton, "'Popularizing' the Law and 'Legalizing' the News," 65 United States Law Review 419 (1931).

67. United States v. Manton, 107 F.2d 834 (2nd Cir. 1939); Joseph Borkin, The Corrupt Judge, pp. 29-93 (Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1962). Eventually, Manton served two years at the Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, federal prison.

CROSSES HOLDING OFF A VAMPIRE: HOW FOUR NEWSPAPERS USED EDITORIALS TO DEFINE THEIR FIRST AMENDMENT FUNCTIONS

STUDENT PAPER

BY JAMES B. McPHERSON
WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Home address: N.W. 445 State St.,
Pullman, WA 99163

Submitted for the American Journalism Historians Association
Convention, Roanoke, Virginia
October 6-8, 1994

Crosses Holding Off a Vampire: How Four Newspapers Used Editorials to Define Their First Amendment Functions

ABSTRACT

This study of more than 30,000 editorials found that four newspapers rarely used their own editorials to profess First Amendment rights or responsibilities. Editorials that did so rarely referred to specific "watchdog" or "marketplace of ideas" roles, more often promoting press freedom without saying why a free press was necessary. Events, particularly press/government conflicts, were the main instigators of free press editorials, and more "watchdog" editorials were written during the 1970s than in earlier or later periods. More surprising was the finding that editorial writers in the 1960s generally supported the watchdog function more strongly than in two periods after the 1970s. Also somewhat unexpected was that the periods with the most watchdog editorials also saw the most editorials supporting press curbs or government secrecy. Raised is the question of whether editorial writers believe the need for press freedom is obvious, so it is unncecessary for them to promote it--or whether they may be reluctant to discuss the issue because doing so might imply a communitarian "responsibility," rather than an individualistic "right" for a free press.

INTRODUCTION

Since before the U.S. Constitution was ratified, members of the media and government alike have asserted that the press serves a "watchdog" function.[1] How well the press has fulfilled that role, and even what is included in definitions of a "watchdog" and of the First Amendment in general, may have changed over time.[2] The press has frequently been condemned for failing in its watchdog role.[3] It has also been criticized for succeeding in it, particularly during times of national crisis.[4]

David Kelley and Roger Donway note that "classic liberals" viewed press freedom as having two important roles: first and most important was the watchdog function; second was the democratic purpose of providing information and fostering debate.[5] Historically, however, the order of those two roles has commonly been switched.[6]

The 1964 New York Times v. Sullivan decision may have emboldened the press, which many have said generally neglected its watchdog responsibility at least until the "Pentagon Papers" controversy in 1971.[7] The 1970s also saw the strengthening of the Freedom of Information Act and the formation of Investigative Reporters and Editors. The period is commonly recognized as a heyday of sorts for "watchdog" journalism, a style of reporting that some argue soon faded again, or was more effectively squelched.[8]

Vincent Blasi maintained that most of the Supreme Court's decisions have been based on "marketplace" concepts of self-government, rather than the "checking value" he deemed more appropriate. He said watchdog journalism is based on "the democratic theory of John Locke and Joseph Schumpeter, not that of Alexander Meiklejohn."[9]

Scholars usually credit John Milton's Areopagitica, published in 1644, with providing the first stone in the foundation of a "marketplace of ideas," which was to contribute much to First Amendment ideals.[10] This "value" was perhaps best defined for First Amendment researchers--and future Supreme Court justices--in 1948 by Meiklejohn, who argued that all information necessary for "self-government" should be protected.[11]

Some even maintain that the press is required under the First Amendment to provide either "marketplace" or "watchdog" information.[12] This "social responsibility" was perhaps most debated after the 1947 publication of A Free and Responsible Press, a report widely criticized by the working press.[13]

Determining the Constitutional founders' intent has never been simple, however, even for the courts. In Simon's words, "The building blocks of precedent have been fashioned into a rococo structure that stuns rather than pleases the eye."[14]

From a less external perspective, relatively few studies address what may be the most important question about watchdog or marketplace roles: How does the press view its own responsibility? More than a hundred years after the decline of the fully "partisan press," it still seems clear that what ends up in the newspaper is likely to reflect the philosophies of individual editors and publishers regarding their responsibilities.

Walter Lippman wrote in 1929: "There are no objective standards here. There are conventions."[15] Obviously, a number of factors affect what editors choose to include in their newspapers. Some say economics are the driving force; Martin A. Lee and Norman Solomon maintain that a white male-dominated corporate structure manages the news to suit its own interests, and Philip Gaunt agrees that the profit motive is strong.[16] Roya Akhavan-Majid, Anita Rife and Sheila Gopinath found that chain ownership may at least stifle variety among newspapers, and Dominic L. Lasorsa determined much the same about public opinion diversity in one-newspaper towns, compared to towns with competing newspapers.[17]

Hynds found most newspaper editors indicate they provide a forum for exchanging information. But in comparing 1983 to eight years earlier, more editors said they chose columnists for their ability to draw readers, while fewer said they tried to provide a balance of liberal and conservative columnists.[18] Bridges noted that while more than 95 percent of editors surveyed agreed it was important for newspapers to investigate government claims, two of the lowest scores were for being a skeptical "adversary" of public officials and of business.[19]

Perhaps the best discussion of journalists and their views--both historic and contemporary--is offered by David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, who categorized journalists as having three distinct (though not exclusive) possible roles: an adversarial function, an interpretive/investigative role, and an "information dissemination" role.[20] It seems logical that the first two of those might be seen as supporting a "watchdog" function, the third a "marketplace" function. Weaver and Wilhoit found that the interpretive/investigative role was considered important by almost two-thirds of those polled, "information dissemination" by just over half, and an adversarial stance by only 17 percent. More important, perhaps, was the finding that "persons with supervisory, editorial authority tend to lean toward the disseminator role and to avoid either the adversarial or interpreter postitions."[21] They also found that "the items calling for analytical approaches--investigating claims, analyzing complex problems, discussing national policy, and developing intellectual interests--are less likely to be ranked as important now than they were ten years ago."[22]

Another valuable discussion of historical press roles is offered by John Lofton. The first two sentences of his final chapter go to the heart of the issue that concerns this paper:

> One clear impression emerges from this survey of more than 175 years of press reaction to various freedom of expression issues in the United States. It is that, *except when their own freedom was discernibly at stake*, established general circulation newspapers have tended to go along with efforts to suppress deviations from the prevailing political and social orthodoxies of their time and place rather than to support the right to dissent.[23] (emphasis added)

PURPOSE AND METHOD

The purpose of this study was to find out how--or if--four newspapers used their own editorials to describe their rights or responsibilities at significant times in recent American history. Expectations were:

1) That the chosen publications would place more emphasis on the watchdog function during the 1970s, and more emphasis on other roles in earlier and later decades;

2) That each publication would place more emphasis on the watchdog function when a president it did not endorse was in office;

3) That each publication's emphasis on the watchdog

function would change following an event with First Amendment connotations.

Primary sources for the study were four metropolitan newspapers--the Chicago Tribune, The Atlanta Constitution, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and The (Portland) Oregonian--chosen for both geographic and political variety. To clarify further, the Chicago Tribune is a traditionally Republican newspaper in a traditionally Democratic city and The Atlanta Constitution is a traditionally somewhat liberal newspaper in a conservative city. Despite both being located in the Pacific Northwest, the Post-Intelligencer is viewed as liberal and The Oregonian as conservative, meaning both reflect the views of most of their readers. More "elite" newspapers such as the New York Times and the Miami Herald were intentionally left out for two reasons. First, it was suspected that those newspapers would be more likely to carry First Amendment editorials simply because they were more likely to be directly involved in the legal cases mentioned in this paper. The second reason for their exclusion is that the mere fact they are considered "elites" makes them atypical--most Americans do not read those publications, even if journalism or political science professors think everyone should.

For the four newspaper that were studied, more than

30,000 editorials were read, and all of those discussing press roles or responsibilities, or the rights of government in dealing with press-related issues, were analyzed. Seven one-year time periods were covered.[24]

Editorials were studied because they essentially by definition reflect the values and beliefs of the newspaper's management.[25] And in a study referred to earlier, Hynds found that most editors believe they influence their readers through their editorials.[26] The seven time periods considered are as follows.

Period 1: April 22, 1962-April 22, 1963, six months before and after the Cuban Missile Crisis began. Civil rights issues were also a concern throughout the first two periods studied, which could have provided newspapers an excuse to express First Amendment concerns.

Period 2: September 9, 1963-September 9, 1964, six months before and after the Supreme Court's New York Times v. Sullivan decision. That ruling was one that Blasi said the court interpreted incorrectly by considering the marketplace function instead of watchdog values, giving the press a chance to discuss either one.

Period 3: December 30, 1970-December 30, 1971, six months before and after the New York Times v. United States "Pentagon Papers" ruling. At the beginning of what might be considered the "watchdog decade," the case was a significant press/government showdown.

Period 4: February 9, 1974-February 9, 1975, six months before and after Nixon's resignation. Even today Watergate remains a symbol for both investigative journalism and government wrongdoing. The revelations of the press helped drive Nixon from office, despite the fact that most American newspapers--including all four in this study--had endorsed him in 1972 for a second term as president. In this same period came another key press decision, in Miami Herald v. Tornillo.[27]

Period 5: September 9, 1978-September 9, 1979, six months before and after The Progressive magazine's "H-Bomb article" was blocked by a federal judge. The period was chosen because it came near the end of the 1970s, and the H-Bomb issue caused the press a great deal of concern. Two additional factors that drew press attention during the period were the jailing of New York Times reporter Myron Farber, who refused to name a confidential source, and a Supreme Court decision that a libel suit defendant could be legally required to reveal the "state of mind" he or she was working under while producing a story.

Period 6: April 25, 1983-April 25, 1984, six months before and after U.S. troops invaded Grenada. The invasion, and the exclusion of the press from covering it, prompted considerable discussion of press rights and responsibilities.

Period 7: All of 1991. The fact that it was the year in which the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights was celebrated made it seem worthy of prompting editors to remind their readers of press rights, and why those rights exist. The Persian Gulf War took place in the same year.

For periods 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, the six-month period preceding each "event" served as a sort of "check" for how the press might refer to its responsibilities and First Amendment issues during non-crisis periods. With period 4, Watergate was a news issue for more than two years, so choosing a single "event" date on which to focus was less precise than with other issues.[28] Because Watergate is commonly recognized as a key event in modern press/government relations, however, any study of this sort failing to include part of that period would obviously be lacking. With Period 7, the year of the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights seemed likely to prompt more First Amendment discussion than other years. In addition, the occurrence of the Gulf War, during which the media faced many restrictions, also contributed to discussion of First Amendment issues.[29]

With the periods selected, both Democratic and Republican presidential administrations are represented, and at least one of the newspapers in the study opposed each of those presidents in a bid for election (The Atlanta Constitution joined the other three in endorsing Nixon in 1972, but opposed him in 1960 and 1968). The periods under consideration included three from the 1970s, two from before that decade, and two from after it.

All four newspapers were reviewed for each of the time periods, so possible differences among newspapers, as well as from year to year, could be noted. Questions considered included: First, was a primary role for the media implicitly stated, and, if so, what was that role? Were other responsibilities considered, either of less or equal importance? Were roles strongly implied, through discussion of the "rights" of the press, the right of government to censor certain materials, or other ideas? Key words and phrases looked for included "press freedom," "marketplace of ideas," "suppression of information," "press responsibility" and others that became apparent through the research--but the intent was to make interpretations supported by the editorials, while recognizing that an editorial tone or overall theme may speak more directly and clearly than specific coded words. Recognizing, too, that other researchers might conceivably make different interpretations, an effort is made to include examples where differences might occur.

Another type of editorial considered was that in which the newspaper essentially compliments itself for uncovering or publicizing information. While these self-congratulatory pieces, often references to investigative reporting, might be seen as supporting a watchdog function, they could also logically fall in the areas of simply providing information, self-promotion, or, sometimes, serving a marketplace function of presenting alternative views to prompt debate. All four of the newspapers studied did use that type of editorial, and seemed to do so for varying reasons. In the interest of consistency, those editorials were not classified as First Amendment editorials unless they also addressed the newspaper's role or responsibility more specifically.

Each editorial was categorized according to the following:

It primarily supported or promoted the watchdog function of the press;

It primarily supported or promoted some other function of the press, such as the "marketplace of ideas" (these other functions, when found, were noted);

It primarily supported or promoted the right of the government to withhold information from the press or public, or otherwise curb the media;

It primarily supported or promoted press freedom without a clear explanation of why that freedom was important.

Any editorial that did not obviously fit into of the designated categories was not included in any category.

FINDINGS

The newspapers studied were somewhat lackadaisical about stressing any perceived watchdog role, and almost completely ignored the "marketplace"; only five references to this press "role"--three in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and two in the *Chicago Tribune*--were found in the seven years reviewed. Actually, editors were most likely to run free press editorials without clearly telling their readers why such a right or need should exist (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

EDITORIALS PROMOTING "FREE PRESS" FOR NO SPECIFIC REASON

Period:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Atlanta Constitution	5	2	2	5	7	3	1
Chicago Tribune	5	3	6	4	8	4	8
The Oregonian	5	2	5	4	8	4	3
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	1	2	7	0	10	3	1
Totals:	16	9	20	13	33	14	13

As anticipated, the study indicates the four newspapers did generally place more emphasis on the watchdog role during the 1970s than either earlier or later. That watchdog role was apparent in the early 1960s, as well, however, indicating that editorial writers did not need either New York Times v. Sullivan or Watergate to prompt them to at least occasionally tell their readers that the press was keeping an eye on government. But the newspapers--especially the Chicago Tribune--did stress this watchdog function noticeably less frequently in the later time periods (see Table 2). Support for the second expectation, that each newspaper would place more emphasis on the watchdog function when a president it did not endorse was in office, was inconclusive. The biggest concentration of watchdog editorials was during Period 4, when Nixon was in his second term, though all four of the newspapers had endorsed Nixon. Of course, that was also the Watergate period. The lowest number came during Period 6, when Reagan was in his first term. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which did not endorse Reagan, ran as many watchdog editorials during that period as the other three newspapers combined. In the final period, while the Chicago Tribune did not run any watchdog editorials, The Atlanta Constitution and The Oregonian each ran three. Like the Tribune, both of those papers had endorsed Bush. Perhaps the most notable case was in Period 1, when the Tribune, a Nixon supporter that promoted itself as a Republican newspaper, frequently condemned the Kennedy administration. It ran six watchdog editorials, compared to one by The Atlanta Constitution, the only newspaper of the four to endorse Kennedy.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF "WATCHDOG" EDITORIALS PER PERIOD

Period:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Atlanta Constitution	1	0	2	2	1	1	3
Chicago Tribune	6	5	7	7	2	1	0
The Oregonian	2	2	3	4	2	1	3
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	0	4	2	3	5	3	2
Totals:	9	11	14	16	10	6	8

The Chicago Tribune also showed the most dramatic decline as a professed watchdog at the end of the 1970s, offering just one such editorial in the last two periods. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, though, actually tended to be a more vocal advocate of a watchful press in later periods, especially Period 5.

Oddly, the highest number of editorials promoting press curbs or secrecy appeared during Period 4--which also had the highest number of watchdog editorials. Four of the 10 came from The Oregonian, which of the four newspapers defended Nixon for the longest time. Less surprising was that Period 5, with its discussion of The Progressive and its hydrogen bomb story, also prompted a number of editorials that might be seen as promoting curbs on press freedom (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

EDITORIALS PRIMARILY SUPPORTING PRESS CURBS/SECRECY

Period:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Atlanta Constitution	2	0	1	3	4	2	0
Chicago Tribune	2	1	0	1	3	1	2
The Oregonian	1	3	3	4	1	0	2
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	2	1	2	2	0	0	0
Totals:	7	5	6	10	8	3	4

Newspapers were generally prompted by events to write editorials about their watchdog role, which would show some support for the third expectation. This was indicated most strongly in Period 2 with New York Times v. Sullivan and in Period 5. Because other First Amendment responsibilities were seldom mentioned, however, comparing changes in emphasis among the watchdog role and other roles is largely meaningless. Almost no editorials supporting press freedom were run pro-actively; only five of those found throughout the study were not obviously written in response to events such as government action, activities of other members of the media, or National Newspaper Week.

Other perceived responsibilities were mentioned, though few referred to the First Amendment. The most common of these secondary press roles was simply some version of "reporting the news," "printing facts," or "telling the truth." (see Table 4). The number of these editorials also dropped for the two post-1970s periods.

TABLE 4

EDITORIALS PRIMARILY SUPPORTING "REPORTING NEWS"

Period:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Atlanta Constitution	2	1	0	0	2	0	0
Chicago Tribune	1	4	2	0	1	1	0
The Oregonian	2	1	1	4	2	0	1
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Totals:	6	6	3	5	6	2	1

DISCUSSION

Of the First Amendment press rights or responsibilities infrequently referred to by editorial writers in this study, the watchdog function was the one most often cited. The marketplace role was almost entirely ignored. For example, despite what Blasi had to say about the Supreme Court's interpretation of *New York Times v. Sullivan*, editorial writers had no trouble ignoring those marketplace consideration, instead "recognizing" the Court's opinion as a validation of the press watchdog role. All four papers editorialized about the case, and only The Atlanta Constitution failed to express a clear pro-watchdog opinion.

The Constitution, in what came closest to implying a marketplace responsibility, wrote that the case "spells out the duties of the press, in fact, to inform the people and to promote full discussion of public affairs and public officials."[30] The editorial stopped short of saying the press should provide a forum for that "discussion."

Still, with few exceptions, newspapers did not regularly promote their watchdog role, either. They were much more likely to say the press has, or should have, certain First Amendment rights without telling readers why those rights do or should exist. Or they avoided discussing the First Amendment altogether, instead mentioning such functions as simply "reporting news." Only in the second period, with New York Times v. Sullivan, did it appear that a press/government conflict stirred editorial writers from an extended editorial silence about First Amendment issues. An individual case typically provided only a short-term excuse to run a free press editorial, rather than a long-term inspiration to print such editorials regularly.

Boosted by New York Times v. Sullivan and other First Amendment cases, the press did editorialize more often about its rights in the watchdog 1970s than in earlier or later periods. But that was apparently true mostly because more conflicts between the press and government arose during the 1970s; editorial writers had more to respond to. Further evidence is seen in the fact that the periods with the most free press editorials also had the most editorials supporting press curbs or government secrecy. These press-government clashes obviously help define First Amendment freedoms and the press/government relationship.

Events appeared to play a bigger role than party politics, and newspapers usually put their own common concerns over those of individual administrations they had endorsed. They split dramatically only in the case of The Progressive, a case that involved both a perceived threat to national security and an atypical member of the "press." In other incidents, the newspapers generally favored what would be viewed as the press "side" over the government's side. The H-bomb case also indicates that even members of the press may sometimes have trouble deciding who or what is included in the "press," and therefore deserving of First Amendment protection.

Editorial writers did change their views in at least one instance, again in the case of The Progressive--though they did not point out in the later editorials that they had previously expressed other opinions. And while they were generally more consistent with specific cases, writers did change over time, becoming less likely to actively promote secrecy because of national security concerns.

The four newspapers in the study all obviously considered it important to run editorials, though the emphasis varied among publications, and for individual papers over time. Editorial writers implied through their topics that they believe the editorial serves any number of purposes, from browbeating politicians to recognizing good deeds (both possible watchdog functions in themselves) to noting the deaths of important people to drumming up support for charities, political candidates and athletic teams.

Part of the reason 1991 was selected as a study year was because it was the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights. That seemed to be a likely occasion for editors to remind readers of the importance of a free press in general, and the rights and/or responsibilities of those involved. Yet not one editorial was found that addressed specific press roles while referring to the Bill of Rights. In fact, the few editorials that noted the Bill of Rights barely mentioned the press. Those included a series of eight editorials run by The Atlanta Constitution; the first barely touched on free expression, while the second discussed the First Amendment--without mentioning the press.[31]

The papers studied did respond to individual incidents that could obviously affect their own interests. But noticeably absent were editorials without an obvious "hook," run simply to support the idea of a free press. They rarely took a "pro-active," rather than a "re-active," stance on First Amendment issues; one might compare the First Amendment to a cross worn beneath a tunic, occasionally held up to stave off a government "vampire," then again hidden away when the danger was past.

This apparent unwillingness on the part of the press to take a pro-active stance on First Amendment issues might be part of the reason, if Blasi is correct, that the Supreme Court and the press have followed separate First Amendment paths.

Unfortunately, when they respond to threats, newspapers may find themselves in the same position as the accused criminals they feature on their pages. They may be innocent of wrongdoing, but the fact that they are accused automatically makes them less credible in many ideas. And those editors who are reluctant to argue their case without a clear news event on which to hang it need only look to the example set by the Chicago Tribune in the early periods of this study. Tribune editorial writers managed to turn a number of only distantly related topics into First Amendment "hooks" in those years. Of course, later they, too, largely stopped preaching to their daily flock about the First Amendment gospel, at least the part concerning why the press is what it is and why it does what it does.

Newspapers do carry occasional editorials supporting First Amendment freedoms, including, infrequently, their own. But even though editorial writers spend their time trying to influence public opinion, much of the public is obviously not firmly on their side. And if the press cannot or will not make its case, who will?

There is another issue to consider, however--the idea that editors do think about the First Amendment, but are reluctant to discuss it because of what it might imply. As demonstrated by Miami Herald v. Tornillo, and the editorial reaction to the case, members of the press do not like the idea of being told what to print. Intentionally or otherwise, they seem to agree with Timothy Gleason in his discussion of the watchdog concept, that, "The right to freedom of the press is an individual right."[32] That opposes the view commonly held by contemporary communitarians, that First Amendment protections exist at least partly so that the press can fulfill a societal responsibility.

It might also be the case--and future research should perhaps be directed at this issue--that First Amendment editorials are decreasing, but "watchdog" or "pro-marketplace" activities are not. In other words, the press may be doing a job it considers important, but failing to tell its readers why it is doing so.

NOTES

[1] Probably the most famous quote is Thomas Jefferson's statement about preferring newspapers without a government to a government without newspapers: Letters and Addresses of Thomas Jefferson, ed. William B. Parker and Jonas Viles (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1903), 53. Also see Interpretations of Journalism, eds. Frank L. Mott and Ralph D. Casey (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937).

[2] Jeffrey A. Smith, Printers and Press Freedom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[3] This condemnation has been widespread, and is included in the following: Richard Bolling, "An Oldtimer's View of the Press," and Michael Green, "Nobody Covers the House," in Congress and the News Media, eds. Robert O. Blanchard (New York: Hastings House, 1974), 153-164, 322-331; David S. Broder, Behind the Front Page (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 16-17; David M. Rubin, "The Security of Secrecy," in Risky Business: Communicating Issues of Science, Risk, and Public Policy, ed. Lee Wilkins and Philip Patterson (New York: Greenwood, 1991), 131-150; Timothy Crouse, The Boys On the Bus, (New York: Ballantine Books, a division of Random House, 1972); Robert D. Holsworth and J. Harry Wray, American Politics and Everyday Life, 2d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 109-125; Martin A. Lee and Norman Solomon, Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in the News Media (New York: Lyle Stuart, a division of Carol Publishing, 1990); Facts on File, Media Controversies, ed. Lester A. Sobel (New York: Facts on File, 1981); William A. Henry III, "Freedom and Accountability: A Search for Solutions," in Media Freedom and Accountability, eds. Everette E. Dennis, Donald M. Gillmor, and Theodore L. Glasser (New York: Greenwood

Press, 1989), 153-177; and Richard Senter, Jr., Larry T. Reynolds, and David Gruenenfelder, "The Presidency and the Print Media: Who Controls the News?" The Sociological Quarterly 27 (1986): 91-105.

[4] Again, many references are available, including: Theodore Peterson, "The Social Responsibility Theory," in Four Theories of the Press, eds. Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press reprint, 1973) 78-79; James Keogh, President Nixon and the Press (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1972), 1-15; Haynes Johnson, "The Irreconcilable Conflict Between Press and Government: Whose Side Are You On?" in Secrecy and Foreign Policy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 165-178; and John C. Merrill, The Imperative of Freedom (New York: Hastings House, 1974), 116-119. Merrill argues the watchdog role should not be granted to the media.

[5] David Kelley and Roger Donway, "Liberalism and Free Speech," in Democracy and the Mass Media, ed. Judith Lichtenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70-71.

[6] Doris A. Graber, "News and Democracy: Are Their Paths Diverging?" Roy W. Howard Public Lecture, 3 (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University School of Journalism, 1992), 4.

[7] Rubin, "Security of Secrecy," 134. However, Herbert B. Swope said more than 40 years ago that reporters were not as good as they had once been, and that "too much emphasis these days is laid upon good writing instead of good getting. There are too many press agents who substitute for the reporter." His remarks can be found in the preface to A Treasury of Great Reporting, eds. Louis L. Snyder and Richard B. Morris (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), xxvvii-xxvviii.

[8] Rubin, "Security of Secrecy," 134; Eve Pell, The Big Chill (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); and Richard O. Curry and others, Freedom at Risk: Secrecy, Censorship, and Repression in the 1980s, ed. Richard O. Curry (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).

[9] Vincent Blasi, "The Checking Value in First Amendment Theory," American Bar Foundation Research Journal, (1977): 521-649.

[10] John Milton, Areopagitica, Isabel Rivers edition (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Company, 1973).

[11] Alexander Meiklejohn, Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government (New York: Harper Brothers, 1948).

[12] Theories of the press are discussed in various works, including: Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, Four Theories of the Press; and Elizabeth Banks Hindman, "First Amendment Theories and Press Responsibility: The Work of Zechariah Chafee, Thomas Emerson, Vincent Blasi and Edwin Baker," Journalism Quarterly, 69 (1992): 48-64.

[13] The Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947); Warren G. Bovee, "Horace Greeley and Social Responsibility," Journalism Quarterly, 63 (1986): 251-259; Alfred Balk, "The Voluntary Model: Living with 'Public Watchdogs,'" in Media Freedom and Accountability, 62; and Elie Abel, "Hutchins Revisited: Thirty-five Years of Social Responsibility Theory," in The Responsibilities of Journalism, ed. Robert Schmuhl (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 40.

[14] Todd F. Simon, "The Indeterminate Future of the First Amendment," Journalism Quarterly, 69 (1992): 28-36.

[15] Walter Lippman, "The Nature of News," in Interpretations of Journalism, ed. Frank L. Mott and Ralph D. Casey (New York: F. S. Croffs & Co., 1937), 176.

[16] Lee and Solomon, Unreliable Sources, 59-101; Philip Gaunt, Choosing the News: The Profit Factor in News Selection (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

[17] Roya Akhavan-Majid, Anita Rife and Sheila Gopinath, "Chain Ownership and Editorial Independence: A Case Study of Gannett Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1991): 59-66; Dominic L. Lasorsa, "Effects of Newspaper Competition on Public Opinion Diversity," Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1991): 38-47.

[18] Ernest C. Hynds, "Editorials, Opinion Pages Still Have Vital Roles at Most Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 61 (1984): 634-639.

[19] Janet A. Bridges, "Daily Newspaper Managing Editors' Perceptions of News Media Function," Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1991): 719-728; also see Jian-Hua Zhu, "Recent Trends

in Adversarial Attitudes Among American Journalist: A Cohort Analysis," Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1990): 992-1004.

[20] David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work, 2nd edition (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University: 1991).

[21] Weaver and Wilhoit, The American Journalist, 117.

[22] Weaver and Wilhoit, The American Journalist, 115.

[23] John Lofton, The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina: 1980).

[24] The exception was Atlanta Constitution Sunday papers published during the first two periods. Excluding Sundays still left more than 1,250 Constitution editorials for each period, more than were offered during some complete years by two other newspapers in the study.

[25] John B. Oakes, "The Editorial: What It Is and What it Aims For," in Social Responsibility of the Newspress (Milwaukee: Marquette University, 1962), 23.

[26] Hynds, "Editorials, Opinion Pages."

[27] Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo, 418 U.S. 241 (1974).

[28] Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, The Final Days (New York: Avon Books, 1976), 510-514.

[29] Lee and Solomon, Unreliable Sources, xv-xxiii.

[30] "Intimidation of the Press Dealt a Blow," Atlanta Constitution, 11 March 1964.

[31] "Celebrate the Bill of Rights," Atlanta Constitution, 8 December 1991; "Free Religion and Speech in Retreat," Atlanta Constitution, 9 December 1991.

[32] Timothy W. Gleason, The Watchdog Concept: The Press and the Courts in Nineteenth-Century America (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University: 1990), 7.

Jurisdiction Over the Body: Themes in coverage of the Garfield Assassination

By

Peter Ausenhus
4117 20th Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55407
(612) 729-5462

Graduate Student,
University of Minnesota Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

Submitted to
American Journalism Historians Association

127

Abstract

Jurisdiction Over the Body: Themes in coverage of the Garfield Assassination

For 10 weeks in late summer 1881 the fate of the nation's chief executive was a daily roller coaster of high hopes or imminent death. President James A. Garfield, shot in Washington D.C.'s Baltimore and Potomac railway station, starred in a real-life melodrama that rivaled the dime novels popular at the time. People huddled around newspaper and telegraph offices for the latest dispatches on the President. As he lingered through the hot summer, newspaper stories grew smaller and jumped to inside pages, only to reemerge when the chief executive took a turn for the worse. What was the newspaper reporting, and what did the coverage say about late 19th-century life in America? These and other questions are the focus of this cultural study of the 10-weeks that Garfield lingered on death's door. The recurring narrative theme of the President's body, with an undercurrent of technology and professional medicine, indicated early delineations between professionals and ordinary citizens that were to sharpen in the first decades of the 20th century.

Jurisdiction Over the Body: Themes in coverage of the Garfield Assassination

Introduction

For 10 weeks in late summer 1881 the fate of the nation's chief executive was a daily roller coaster of high hopes or imminent death. President James A. Garfield, shot in Washington D.C.'s Baltimore and Potomac railway station, starred in a real-life melodrama that rivaled the dime novels popular at the time. People huddled around newspaper and telegraph offices for the latest dispatches on the President. As he lingered through the hot summer, newspaper stories grew smaller and jumped to inside pages, only to reemerge when the chief executive took a turn for the worse. What type of news was being reported, and what did it say about late 19th-century life in America? The duration of the crisis allowed several narrative themes to emerge in coverage. The recurring theme of the President's body, with an undercurrent of technology and professional medicine, indicated early delineations between professionals and ordinary citizens that were to sharpen in the first decades of the 20th century.

A cultural approach to crisis coverage

Most scholars believe communication plays a role in the world, whether deterministic, descriptive or otherwise. Many view the world as determined by communication; that thought patterns, themselves limited by social intercourse, combine with interpersonal and mass communication into an evolving and negotiated social discourse. Humans ascribe labels to objects and actions in the world and imbued them with meanings through communication. The process is circular and continually evolving, influenced by political, economic and other social factors that are themselves defined and assigned cultural significance through communication. Cultural historians look at the social production and function not only of certain ideas, but of certain kinds of consciousness--discursive analysis. Discourse refers to socially produced groups of ideas or ways of thinking that can be tracked in individual texts or groups of texts, but that also demand to be located within wider historical and social structures or relations. By looking at narrative themes, newspaper accounts reveal a society's primary values, or ways of looking at the world--in ways that more traditional content analysis cannot. For example, how a recurring theme of technology and an ambiguity toward professional medicine in assassination coverage represented early indications sharp society changes.

This study adopts the ritual model of communication that scholar James Carey defines as looking at communication not as a transmission of information as much as "a presentation of reality that gives life an overall form, order and tone."[0] Reality is not "out there" waiting to be stalked, captured and put on exhibit, but rather produced and reflected by communication. A cultural approach looks at how concepts inherent in a dominant culture are received and interpreted--focusing on the meaning of the message to the receiver. Democracy, for example, may be unconsciously illustrated and promoted in news accounts of assassinations by stressing the orderly transition of the president in the American political system. The spotlight in such a view is not on the message itself but the ideology it represents. For example, scholars would not focus on the message "Assassin Smith is a communist," to see if readers exhibit a change in their view of communists. Rather they would look at the message and ask, what is it about the society and the mass media within it that make such a statement meaningful to the audience when any other number of labels could be used to describe assassin Smith? What the media help to accomplish, according to this approach, is the shaping and maintenance of a version of reality over time. Media messages conform to and reflect the dominant ideologies in a given culture, and that culture determines and defines the reality.

A study of news coverage during a crisis provides a rich site in which to explore society's deepest values. One may argue that as people are forced to reevaluate their values and social situation--as in war or the death of a president--these values emerge in sharper relief, manifesting themselves in social institutions like the media. At the same time the heterogeneous nature of crises doesn't lend itself to generalizations. The goal of this research is to identify particularly strong currents of feeling at a quickly changing time in American history.

---

[0] Carey, James W., *Communication as Culture*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989, pg. 21.

Two factors attract media researchers to crisis coverage. First, most crises are isolated in time and space and therefore make for manageable research subjects. Second, humans have a natural interest in tragedy and dramatic bad news. But crises offer a natural departure for research for other reasons. In studying the U.S. presidency during six 20th-century crises, scholar Brigitte Lebens Nacos says such emergencies are "the most fateful and crucial time for the nation and its presidents."[1] A crisis provides a forum for exploring practical questions of press performance: did the media report the Three Mile Island nuclear plant accident accurately,[2] for example, or were press biases kept to a minimum in covering President Kennedy's assassination?[3]

Research on crises coverage has been extensive. *Journalism Quarterly*, for example, devotes an index heading to "War and Press" and a history subdivision to "War" research. Many articles have been written about the press and Civil War, perhaps the United States's greatest national crisis. Already the Persian Gulf War has received much attention.[4] Assassination coverage also has been addressed. Herbert E. Swett reported that the Associated Press related events surrounding the Lincoln assassination promptly, thoroughly and accurately.[5] Don Sneed looked at how the press depicted anarchist stereotypes in covering the trial of William McKinley's assassin, Leon Czolgosz. He concluded that two newspapers under study made a fair trial for Czolgosz difficult by succumbing to public sentiment and inflaming the public's opposition to anarchists.[6] Researchers have published news diffusion studies of the John Kennedy assassination and of the attempted assassination of former President Reagan.[7] Wilbur Schramm wrote that the experience of an entire country watching President Kennedy's burial on their television sets was ". . . a sharing of common information, a reassertion of national norms, and a national act of mourning, which must have been for many viewers a catharsis of grief."[8] Barbie Zelizer employed a ritual view of media coverage of President Kennedy's assassination, focusing on what the event meant to the journalistic community. She specifically explored how retelling the assassination story cast journalists in the role of authoritative and legitimate narrators for real events--in effect, cultural authorities.[9]

---

[1] Nacos, Brigitte Lebens, *The Press, Presidents, and Crises*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, pgs. 2-3.

[2] This crisis has been a research favorite. A sample would include Sandman, Peter and Mary Pader, "At Three Mile Island," *Columbia Journalism Review*, 17 (July/August 1979) pgs. 43-58, as well as books by Graber, Nimmo and Combs, and Nacos.

[3] Hundreds of articles explored this question in the first year after the assassination. Overall, the press applauded itself, with criticism focusing on the herd mentality of the mass of reporters in Dallas.

[4] Researchers have written hundreds of critiques of the press and of government-press relations during the war. For an example of how the press supported the government during the crisis, see Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, Kuno Kruse and Birgit Schwarz, "Reporters in the Gulf Rally 'Round the Flag,'" *World Press Review*, 38:(4) pgs. 24-27.

[5] Swett, Herbert E., "AP Coverage of the Lincoln Assassination," *Journalism Quarterly*, 47 (1970) pgs. 157-59.

Doris A. Graber's study of media coverage in times of crisis stressed the fact that people depend on media almost totally for information during a crisis. People also look to media to interpret what happened--to place it in a meaningful long-range context.[10] She noted that crises coverage tends to illuminate major philosophical and policy issues in government-media relations; when the crisis poses a physical threat to ordinary citizens, audience sensitivity to media messages is particularly strong.[11]

---

[6] Sneed, Don, "Newspapers Call for Swift Justice: A Study of the McKinley Assassination," *Journalism Quarterly*, 65, pgs. 360-67.

[7] Greenberg, Bradley S., "Diffusion of News About the Kennedy Assassination," and Spitzer, Stephan P. and Nancy S. Spitzer, "Diffusion of News of Kennedy and Oswald Deaths," in Greenberg, Bradley S., *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public*, (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1965), pgs. 89-111. See also, Walter Gantz, "The Diffusion of News About the Attempted Reagan Assassination," *Journal of Communication*, 33 (winter 1983), pgs. 56-65, and Ruth Ann Weaver-Lariscy, Barbara Sweeney and Thomas Steinfatt, "Communication During Assassination Attempts: Diffusion of Information in Attacks on President Reagan and the Pope," *The Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 49 (spring 1984), pgs. 258-276. This article follows-up Greenberg's study, concluding that the more important the news, the higher incidence of interpersonal diffusion. A higher percentage of survey respondents used mass media as a source for news of the Reagan assassination attempt than in the Kennedy assassination.

[8] Greenberg, 24.

[9] Zelizer, Barbie, "Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination and the Establishment of Journalistic Authority," Ph.D Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1990.

[10] Graber, Doris A., *Mass Media and American Politics*, 3rd. Edition, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989, pg. 310. One chapter of her book is devoted to her study of the Kennedy assassination in 1963, race riots in Winston-Salem, N.C. in 1967, Israel's Yom Kippur War in 1973, and a series of natural and man-made disasters ranging from storms to a nuclear plant accident.

[11] Ibid., pg. 306.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Brigitte Lebens Nacos looked at six crises, analyzing what three major newspapers said about the events.[12] Her study concluded that a "rally-round-the-flag" mentality is exhibited by politicians and the press in national emergencies. Nacos also cited scholarship that says when a president takes strong action to address a crisis, the press will generally support the action.[13]

Dan Nimmo and James E. Combs examine three major television networks' coverage of six crises from 1978 to 1982.[14] The researchers look solely at television network news, citing its persuasive influence on the lives of Americans and its status as the major source of news for most adults.[15] Their qualitative and quantitative focus is on different narrative themes told by each network for each crisis. They focus on the "narrative logic" of television news producers "to select (consciously or not) a melodramatic format, conforming to an heroic plot line, in their search for mythic adequacy."[16]

This paper builds on other crises coverage research and melds it into a cultural history approach. This research will examine journalistic accounts of assassinations to determine, cumulatively, 1) what recurring narrative themes were advanced, 2) what groups or individuals were assigned roles within these themes, and 3) what these themes indicate about American society at the times of the assassination.

---

[12] Nacos analyzes the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the Dominican Republic invasion in 1965, the Detroit race riot of 1967, the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, the attempted assassination of President Reagan in 1981 and the Grenada invasion in 1983.

[13] Ibid., pg. 8, quoting Grossman.

[14] Nimmo, Dan and James E. Combs, *Nightly Horrors, Crisis Coverage by Television Network News*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985. The crises studied were the Jonestown suicides/murders in 1978, the Three Mile Island nuclear leak in 1979, the crash of American Airlines flight 191 in 1979, the Mount St. Helens eruption in 1980, the Iran hostage crisis in 1979-81, and the Tylenol poisonings in 1982.

[15] Ibid., pg. 5

[16] Ibid., pg. 18.

The Narrative Form

Many researchers have interpreted meaning in historical texts such as newspapers by analyzing their narrative structures. In talking about historical text as literary artifact, Hayden White stresses the importance of viewing historical works as extended metaphors . . . the historical narrative does not reproduce the events it describes; it tells us in what direction to think about the events and charges our thought about the events with different emotional valences.[17]

Anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt may as well be talking about journalism when she writes that narrative plays a crucial role in melding formal ethnographic accounts in the intensely personal experiences of fieldwork; narrative is a way to mediate between the contradictions of personal and scientific depictions of reality, a constant challenge for reporters, as well.[18] James Ettema and Theodore Glasser refer to journalists as contemporary historians in their study of narrative form in investigative reporting.[19] In their study of national crises, Nimmo and Combs also attempt to analyze network news stories as narrative constructions. They write: "In recent decades the idea has evolved that the social roots of newsmaking are rhetorical, stemming from the ancient and universal impulse of human groups to explain reality by telling stories."[20]

The following underlying assumptions provide a basis for my general research questions: 1) media act in particular and identifiable roles in times of national crises, 2) communication is a presentation and shaping of "reality," 3) there is a dominant, though dynamic and adaptive ideology that determines culture, and 4) journalists use narrative structure to put facts into a framework that will imbue them with meaning to the audience.

---

[17] White, Hayden, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *The Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pg. 402.

[18] Pratt, Mary Louise, "Fieldwork in Common Places," pg. 33, in Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

[19] Ettema, James S. and Theodore L. Glasser, "Narrative Form and Moral Force: The Realization of Innocence and Guilt Through Investigative Journalism," *Journal of Communication*, 38 (Summer 1988): pg. 11.

[20] Nimmo and Combs, pg. 14. For example, the coverage of the Jonestown mass suicides and murders in 1978 reveals three distinct rhetorical themes: NBC presents a tale of "heroic fallen comrades" (two NBC employees were killed covering the story); ABC portrays a story of "villainy demanding a valorous response;" and CBS coverage presents the crisis as an anomaly, "an event that went wrong in the natural order of things, even though what went wrong is never made clear." pgs. 34-46.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Methods and Research Questions

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was analyzed throughout the 10-week assassination period from July 2, 1881, until Garfield's funeral on Sept. 26, 1881.[21] In addition, a variety of magazine articles on the assassinations were reviewed.[22] The primary unit of analysis was the story: all non-advertising copy including editorials and artwork that focused on the assassination as its main theme.[23]

Since the primary focus was on narrative themes in newspaper news columns and with the resulting likelihood of repetitive press association accounts, one paper was selected for analysis. The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* was selected for its availability and prominence. Joseph Pulitzer bought the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (founded in 1862) at a bankruptcy auction for $2,500 in 1878. He merged the paper with the *Evening Post* that same year.[24] Pulitzer distinguished his paper and attracted a large audience by featuring local exposes. One of his first moves as publisher was to hire *Baltimore Gazette* editor

---

[21] In 1881 the *Post-Dispatch* printed eight pages Monday through Saturday in a six-column format. Advertising occupied the first two or three columns of page one. Big stories, such as presidential assassinations, were collections of telegraph and staff-written dispatches, occasionally continuing to inside pages. Page two comprised letters and excepts from other papers. Page three featured up to one column of local news with the remainder classified advertising. Page four was comprised of numerous editorials, beginning with short pieces of from a few words to a few sentences, followed by progressively longer editorials. Letters to the editor, other newspaper excerpts and general news completed the page. Page five included foreign news and, infrequently, important news jumped from page one. Display and classified advertising occupied the rest of the page. Page six held legal notices. Page seven included "amusements", condensed telegrams, classified advertising and occasionally fiction. The last page included local news and advertisements.

[22] Poole, William Frederick, ed., *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1963, and Guthrie, Anna Lorrain, ed., *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, Minneapolis: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1905. All available magazine articles listed under "Assassination," "Garfield, assassination," and McKinley, assassination," were reviewed.

[23] In 1881 newspapers ran headlines and copy in contiguous columns, occasionally jumping to other pages on long, important stories. An assassination story would begin with a multi-deck headline. This paper considers the first deck the headline in the appendix (the small headlines for each dispatch within a story are used in footnotes for more precision.) Subordinate headlines before copy begins are considered "decks." For example, five decks on a story would be considered a headline and four decks for this paper. Copy would follow, first medical bulletins printed verbatim, followed by short telegraph dispatches, often repetitive. Everything falling under the main head was considered a story for this paper. Therefore, most days in Garfield coverage featured only one story, though it may have included 50 separate dispatches (772 dispatches were analyzed for Garfield). Editorials usually had no headline; letters to the editor (on the editorial page) usually had a headline. With a few exceptions there were no bylines.

[24] Rammelkamp, Julian S., *Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch 1878-1883*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, pgs. 3-18, 55.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

John Cockerill as his managing editor in 1879. His sardonic editorials cut to the bone. Rammelkamp describes him thusly: "Bold to the point of recklessness, Cockerill carried on the crusades of the *Post-Dispatch* with a gay disregard for consequences."[25] One of the consequences was murder. Cockerill shot and killed a local lawyer who, irritated with personal attacks upon a political friend, confronted the managing editor in the newspaper's offices. Cockerill was not charged but soon left the controversy behind when he moved with Pulitzer to New York City.[26] In 1878 St. Louis was an industrial and commercial center of more than 300,000, more than one-third of them German. Ranked about sixth in population, St. Louis's chief urban rival was Chicago, humorously evident in editorial jibes throughout Garfield coverage. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1881 featured stodgy, often repetitive news and sharp, witty and entertaining editorials. Though a staunch democrat, Pulitzer admired Garfield's intelligence, erudition and oratory.[27] Indeed throughout the coverage the paper editorially was more critical of its democratic counterparts around the country and maintained a sort of arrogant neutrality.

The event

James Garfield was shot at 9:30 a.m. Saturday July 2, 1881, in Washington D.C.'s Baltimore and Potomac Railway station. The subheads of the first few dispatches in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were one-sentence reports that foretold the drama that was to unfold, "Serious," "Not Mortal," Reported Dead." The latter dispatch, within an hour of the shooting, reported that the President had been killed, but warned that, "The excitement is so intense that it is impossible to find anything definite at present."[28]

Subsequent dispatches reported the assassin's name as Ghio, Dooty, Ditton, and finally the misspelled Guitteau. The day's news concluded with the latest (3 p.m.) dispatch that said the President's condition was worsening and he probably would not survive. This last attempt to supply the news was vital because no paper was to be published on Monday, the nation's birthday.[29] At New York City police headquarters work stopped as employees talked among themselves and waited for more information. When news reports debunked the rumor that the President had died the atmosphere was almost festive.[30] Groups gathered in the streets, offices and stores during the day, and in the hotels and clubs at night, soberly talking of the crime in Washington and its probable results. All over the country groups on the street formed; news boys sold out of extras. The assassination burst circulation records. Approximately 31,000 copies of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were published, two and one-half times the normal press run.[31] News of his death 10 weeks later spurred another circulation bonanza.[32]

---

[25] Ibid., pgs. 91-2.
[26] Ibid., pgs. 288-293.
[27] Rammelkamp, pg. 124.
[28] "Reported Dead," July 2, 1881, pg. 1. *NOTE: All newspaper citations are from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1881 unless otherwise identified.

The sheer drama of the event was palpable as a theme throughout the coverage, particularly in the periodical press. Monthly magazines had the advantage of perspective not available to the dailies and, as such, recounted the assassination as a 10-week national drama. Magazines expounded on the significance of technology, particularly the speed of the telegraph and the resulting emotional roller coaster of good and bad news in the newspapers. According to *The Nation*, "Before the days of telegraphy his illness could not have been followed from day to day with the continuous minuteness of detail which had done so much to quicken the sympathy felt with him and with the American people." [33] The *Canadian Monthly* acknowledged the part played by the press.[34] *The American*

---

[29] "No Paper on the Fourth," July 2, pg. 4.
[30] "The News in Gotham," July 2, pg. 4.
[31] Rammelkamp, pgs. 173 and 175.
[32] Lyons, Louis M., *Newspaper Story: One Hundred Years of the Boston Globe*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971, pg. 50-53. The *Boston Globe* issue announcing Garfield's death featured poems from some of America's preeminent poets and sold 100,000 copies, the most ever at the time. Said Colonel Charles H. Taylor, editor of the paper, "People leaned out of their windows in their night clothes and shouted for copies of the *Globe*, because we had the only extra."
[33] "The Week," *The Nation*, 33 Sept. 29, 1881, pg. 241.
[34] "The Dead President," *Canadian Monthly* 7 (November 1881) pgs. 538-539. "The universality and spontaneity of the grief which the death of President Garfield has called forth, has only been equalled by its intensity, an intensity which the minute detail of each day's record of progress or relapse from the period when the miscreant's bullet sped its way into the sufferer's side, did much to call forth."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Catholic Quarterly chronicled the public's continuing interest:

> Almost the entire period since our last issue has been one of anxious interest of the entire country. The life of a newly inaugurated President has hung quivering in the balance, till hope, buoyed up by flattering appearances, at last died away, stark and cold beside the deep-voiced murmuring ocean on which his dying eyes had gazed.[35]

A *Post-Dispatch* editorial was perhaps most overt in relaying the narrative qualities of the assassination story: "For seventy-nine days the country has been in suspense, as the tearful story of agony, suffering, fluctuating hope and gloom came hourly from the President's bedside. ." [36]

The assassination story lightened a bit after the initial shock as Garfield improved over the holiday weekend. The *Post-Dispatch's* next day of news, July 5, included an investigation of Guiteau, now spelled correctly, receiving money orders.[37] New York political boss Roscoe Conkling was criticized for not expressing his grief publicly, and many suggested that he was privately hopeful over the potential political rewards of the assassination.

Garfield's condition improved and declined dramatically over the next two months. The Sept. 3 issue noted that Garfield must be moved out of "malarial" Washington D.C. Sept. 6 was a national day of prayer, but more important, the President finally left the White House and boarded a train to the New Jersey coastline. Moving the President attracted much public attention, and though he departed the White House at 5:57 a.m., 150 people had gathered at the White House gates. The throng was quiet and respectful, and many followed the presidential caravan to catch a glimpse of Garfield. Nearly 2,000 were gathered at the train station.[38]

On Sept. 13 the President rebounded a bit and was placed in a reclining chair in view of the ocean and in contact with its breezes. Nature and, more specifically, weather were invoked as positive metaphors for recovery. Weather was most important after Garfield had been transported out of the Washington heat in hopes of enjoying the tonic effects of sea: An editorial the next day noted: "The wooing salt breezes are expected to do their work now. A land breeze at Long Branch for the next week would be a national calamity."[39]

---

[35] Shea, John Gilmary, "The Lessons of President Garfield's Assassination," *The American Catholic Quarterly*, 6 (October 1881) pg. 683.

[36] Editorial, "The President Dead," Sept. 20, pg. 4.

[37] "Investigating Guiteau," July 5, pg. 1.

[38] "Departure From the White House," Sept. 6, pg. 1.

On the 17th hope was dim as the president faded quickly. Garfield's imminent death was reported on Monday the 19th. He died at about 10:35 p.m. on the 19th, with the following report seemingly assuaging the anticlimactic grief:

> The dying President was in a state of semi-consciousness, but his mind wandered. He thought he was at home in Mentor, and the disjointed phrases which fell from his lips indicated that he was living over again the days of his boyhood. He spoke of his mother and his wife, and his talk was as though he had shaken off the great weight which has been pressing upon him and was at peace and rest.[40]

Chester Arthur was sworn in at 2:15 a.m. on the 20th. City officials throughout the country draped buildings in mourning and flew flags at half mast. Condolences arrived from around the world, foremost from Queen Victoria, whose solicitude throughout the President's ordeal had endeared her to thousands of Americans.[41] As during the assassination, crowds gathered around news and telegraph offices. Meetings were canceled and business came to a halt.

Curiously, page one on the death announcement day, Sept. 20, was all advertising, dominated by a half-page heating stove sale. The news began on page two, with a three-column-by-six-inch engraving of Garfield and Arthur, a stock engraving left over from the inauguration or campaign. The lead story was not of breaking news but was a succinct biography of the slain president, concluding with words purportedly uttered by Garfield upon the death of Abraham Lincoln, "Fellow-citizens, God reigns and the Government at

---

[39] Editorial, Sept. 7, pg. 4.
[40] "Dead," Sept. 20, pg. 4.
[41] Leech, Margaret, and Harry J Brown, *The Garfield Orbit*, New York: Harper and Row, 1978, pg. 247.

Washington still lives!"

Garfield, the National Patient[42]

Garfield's body, its physical appearance, nutrition, condition and functions, was the primary theme of assassination coverage. It was as if for 10 weeks he was the common property of every American. No fact was too sensitive or private. He was the nation's appointed leader, its servant both politically and physically.

The President's body itself was the best defense against the injury, as noted in an interview with the President's brother-in-law Camden O. Rockwell. "He has always had good health and he possesses a powerful frame."[43] Five days later the President's doctor "expressed great reliance upon [his] vigorous constitution, strong vitality and calm courage."[44] An article in *The Presbyterian Review* laid out what it considered the building blocks of Garfield's recuperation: "Our present hope of his recovery is founded mainly on his having survived the deadly attack so long, and on that firm manhood, physical, intellectual, moral and Christian."[45] A *Post-Dispatch* story could find no better reason for his early survival.

> It was difficult to conceive how any frame could withstand such a strain, and when at length there was a slight modification the almost superhuman constitution of the patient stood out as a factor that seemed equal to almost any possibility.[46]

Preoccupation with the body didn't end with death. Executive clerk Warren T. Young gave this review of the dead President's body: "It shows emaciation in some degree, as would be inevitable after his long period of sickness and suffering, but the physicians say that after embalmment the emaciation will be less noticeable."[47] A later dispatch reported that it was possible to clasp the leg above the knee with one hand and the lead story the following day detailed the appearance of the body in his casket. The next day provided this critique: "The late President's face has very much changed since yesterday, the discoloration of the skin having extended, rendering it necessary to powder the face in order to soften somewhat its darkened hue."[48]

---

[42] The last deck of the August 10 lead headline, "Dispatches From the White House--Official Bulletins--The National Patient."
[43] "Garfield's Brother-in-Law," July 2, pg. 5.
[44] "Where the Danger Now Lies," July 7, pg. 1.
[45] Atwater, Lyman H., "The Assassination of the President," *The Presbyterian Review*, 2 (1881) pg. 775.
[46] "White-Winged Hope," July 5, pg. 4.
[47] "The Dead President," Sept. 20, pg. 7.

After Garfield's death the *Canadian Monthly* transformed the nation itself into flesh with an analogy on a common topic. "There was the knowledge that the chosen of a great nation had fallen martyr to the disease which has long been preying upon its vitals, and who, strong in a great patriot's strength, had given his life to cleanse it of its foulness."[49] This disease, of course, was the spoils system and boss politics.

The preoccupation with physical characteristics extended to Garfield's assassin. The first description of Guiteau emphasized his general physical build--height, weight, etc. But further reports were more interpretive. According to his jailer:

> He wears a mustache and light chin whiskers, and his sunken cheeks and eyes far apart from each other give him a sullen, or, as the official described it, a 'loony' appearance. The officer in question gave it as his opinion that Guiteau (SIC) is a Chicago communist, and stated that he has noticed it to be a peculiarity of nearly all murderers that their eyes are set far apart, and Guiteau,(SIC) he says, proves no exception to the rule.[50]

During the era much weight was given to the ability to discern criminal tendencies through physical features, a substudy of phrenology.[51] Assassin Guiteau (as well as President McKinley's killer 20 years later), therefore, had to withstand the same physical scrutiny as his victim.[52]

---

[48] "Lying in State," Sept. 22, pg. 4.
[49] "The Dead President," *Canadian Monthly*, 7 (November 1881) pg. 539.
[50] "Guiteau in Jail," July 2, pg. 1.
[51] Davies, John D., *Phrenology Fad and Science, A 19th-Century American Crusade*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. Phrenology, a belief that mental phenomena could be explained by natural causes, was imported from Europe to the United States around the 1820s, peaking around mid century. Job seekers sometimes had to undergo phrenologic exams. Garfield had his head examined, as did most public figures of the era. (pg. 38)
[52] Briggs, Vernon L., *The Manner of Man That Kills*, Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1921, pg. 261. The author noted that one doctor had measurements and descriptions of about 4,000 men and women, and had measured Czolgosz for comparison with other criminals.

The functions of the body were extensively detailed, as well as the appearance. Page one on the second day of assassination news delved into such matters as the President's vomiting, bowel movements, body pains and, of course, his food consumption--and not just that administered orally. The President's wound and its various solid and fluid components was the hub of bodily reportage; the amount of draining pus was a daily statistic. On July 22 people read about bone fragments and particles of clothing that were removed from the wound.[53] Later, enema compositions were detailed, which on Aug. 17 included extract of beef, egg yolk, whisky and muriatic acid.[54]

One of the infrequent pieces of artwork was a diagram of a human abdomen showing the ribs, kidney, stomach and liver from the side. Also depicted was the suspected location of the "ball" (bullet). The story continued almost three full columns discussing the bullet location as pinpointed (inaccurately as it turned out) by Alexander Bell. This article, which presented doctors' opinions on their prognoses for recovery, was the only one to include a quote from a female "expert" source.[55]

Food

A rare direct quote from the President, "I am hungry, I must have something to eat," was one of the most representative of coverage.[56] The President's daily nourishment was guaranteed to be in the newspaper every day. His diet on July 5 included chicken broth, milk, lime water and beef tea. Under a dispatch titled "Garfield Eats," the President relished a woodcock in addition to his regular diet of milk with an ounce of rum.[57] On July 14 he had a "sandwich of scraped raw beef with two teaspoonfuls of Vintine's beef juice and an ounce of Tokay wine of 1866."[58] "Healthy and Hungry" shouted a July 19 lead story, though most of the content was a discussion of Alexander Bell perfecting his induction balance, an ersatz x-ray machine that could potentially find a bullet in the President's body.[59] Citizens sent food and spirits to the President throughout his ordeal, which prompted the *Post-Dispatch* to predict, "If the thing goes on the White House will be completely stocked and victualed for the incoming Democratic administration."[60] An Irish servant in the White House even spiked the President's milk with holy water.[61]

---

[53] "The Wound," July 22, pg. 4.
[54] "The Enemata," Aug. 17, pg. 1.
[55] "He Will Recover," Aug. 3, pg. 8.
[56] "The President Hungry," July 5, pg. 4.
[57] "Garfield Eats," July 13, pg. 1.
[58] "The Doctor's Report," July 14, pg. 1.

The atmosphere of social Darwinism was evident in this excerpt from *The Nation:* "Much work, and valuable work, has been done by men with feeble physique, but the work of pushing one's way to the front seems to be but rarely performed except by persons with much vitality and a vigorous digestion." [62] The stories were dominated by medical reports on the President's condition. His pulse rate was prominently reported and served as a daily barometer of his condition. The bulletins resembled latter day sports or business statistics, and readers must have watched the numbers like nervous stock holders perusing the financial page. This medical information was no more understandable, and perhaps less so, to 19th-century readers than it is today. A *Post-Dispatch* reporter attempted to clarify the doctor's reports for readers in a dialogue with a local physician. Included in this early bit of basic interpretive reporting were danger levels for pulse, temperature and respiration.[63] One reader requested pulse information as a modern reader may ask for Joe Montana's quarterback rating in 1984: "Please inform me through your valuable paper what was the highest pulse of the President since his attempted assassination, and oblige--A subscriber."[64] Readers needed no translation when on Aug. 11 the headline "102!" succinctly warned of the danger.

---

[59] "A Good Breakfast," July 19, pg. 1.
[60] Editorial, Aug. 1, pg. 4.
[61] Leech, Margaret and Harry J. Brown, pg. 246.
[62] "The Week," *The Nation* 33 Sept. 22, 1881, pg. 223.
[63] "What the Bulletins Mean," July 5, pg. 4.
[64] "The President's Pulse," LTE Aug. 18, pg. 4.

Technology

Technology was an undercurrent in all the reporting of Garfield's maladies. While the chief executive enjoyed an early upswing, a minor rise in body temperature and pulse was attributed to the heat of the afternoon.[65] A concern with keeping Garfield cool introduced the common theme of technology, most often mechanical invention, scientific training or a combination of the two. Six days after the shooting a Professor Dorsey, a mining engineer at the Navy Yard, was working on a compressed air device to cool the President's White House room.[66] Early on in the assassination there was great concern about finding the missing bullet when doctors' manual probes were unsuccessful, leading to a series of articles about an early "x-ray" machine. Professors Graham Bell and Simian Newcomb began experiments on their newly invented induction balance, which was supposed to detect metal an inch under the surface of the skin. If successful, the machine was to be used to find the missing bullet in Garfield if and when he was healthy enough.[67]

Scientific training was praised, such as when the President reacted positively to treatment: "[The President's doctor] enjoys the reputation of being the most scientific and most successful physician in Washington,"[68] But science also was vilified, such as when *The Nation* railed against the scientific experts who said Guiteau was insane and expressed frustration with the plodding American judicial system and its use of "experts."[69]

One of the more extensive themes was the "doctor battles," first the fight among physicians for the honor of working on Garfield, second, the criticism by the press over what it viewed as overly optimistic medical bulletins, and finally, criticism of the doctors' abilities after the President died. A cavalier skepticism about the physicians' abilities was evident early in coverage. On July 23 the President had a relapse, with fever and pulse rising. This incident also raised skepticism of the doctors' continually optimistic bulletins.

---

[65] "Wrestling With the Wound," July 8, pg. 1.
[66] Ibid.
[67] "An Experiment," July 14, pg. 1.
[68] Editorial, July 5.
[69] "Guiteau and the 'Experts'," *The Nation*, 34 June 29, 1882, pg. 536.

An early August editorial accused the physicians of a cover up, asserting "A pulse of one hundred and ten beats per minute indicates Chester Arthur as the next President."[70] And two days later, "The Washington dispatches about the President must be read with the understanding that physicians and correspondents have decided to tell white lies, stick to them and give their hopes as facts."[71] The same issue featured an editorial entitled "The Facts About Mr. Garfield," and listed eight contradicting or underplayed facts that pointed out the seriousness beneath the rosy dispatches. In its consistent haranguing of the doctors, the paper warned people not to prematurely celebrate the optimistic news of the President, "The danger point cannot be said to be passed until the doctors cease to hover around the patient."[72] An editorial Sept. 17 sarcastically responded to Dr. Bliss's (his real, not the newspaper's sarcastic, name) report that the President had occasional hallucinations. "[Bliss] has a semi-occasional waking dream himself in which he imagines that if surgical skill fails, his bulletins may be successful in pulling the President through."

After Garfield died on the 19th, strong feelings that the doctors mismanaged the case were immediately expressed by reporters. Autopsy results fueled the suspicion many had of physicians in general. "If so many able physicians could be so completely ignorant in so important a case for so long a time, who can depend on the doctors any longer?"[73]

Some themes were conspicuous by their absence. No emphasis was given to administrative branch news. What would the policies of Chester Arthur be? Whom would he select for his cabinet? Only when one realizes the relative political impotence of the presidency at the time does such an absence make sense. Only one paper needed to be signed during Garfield's 10-week struggle. In fact, one editorial writer said the United States presidency was a figurehead and that the country would probably be better off without the position. Within such an atmosphere personal news would command a higher priority than administrative news.

---

[70] Editorial, Aug 10, pg. 4.
[71] Editorial, Aug. 12, pg. 4.
[72] Editorial, July 13, pg. 4.
[73] Editorial, Sept. 22, pg. 4.

Discussion/conclusion: Jurisdiction Over the Body

To reemphasize, by looking at narrative themes with a cultural studies approach, newspaper accounts have the potential to reveal a society's primary values, or ways of looking at the world in ways that more traditional content analysis cannot. Questions included 1) what recurring narrative themes were advanced, 2) what groups or individuals were assigned roles within these themes, and 3) what these themes indicate about American society at the times of the assassination.

The primary narrative theme was that of the Garfield's body, its feeding, care and decomposition. The coverage was imbued with an undercurrent of technology, both emerging mechanical innovation and scientific expertise. That technology should evolve thematically in assassination coverage is not surprising. It was an era of widespread invention, and the public had faith that the resulting contraptions would make their lives richer and more livable. In 1881 birth, sickness and death were most often occurrences of the home, and may help put in context the focus on the body, its feeding and functions in newspaper coverage. People may have been much more attuned to the attendant subjects off limits to our discreet modern sensitivities. U.S. families in the first three centuries of the country's existence had large families--for labor needs and also because children were frequently the victims of nutritional deficiencies or diarrhea and often did not live beyond infancy.[74] Those who did survive infancy faced numerous other fatal diseases. Adults also were victims of the lack of good medical care, medical incompetence (even on presidents of the United States) and industrial accidents. Nineteenth-century Americans were not as uncomfortable with the body as people today. Some would say that recent presidents are subjected to just as detailed reporting when undergoing medical treatment. One may argue, however, that most if not all details are shrouded in heavy medial jargon and otherwise sanitized visual and literary exposition. The intimate, vernacular details present in Garfield coverage is not apparent today.

---

[74] Coffin, Margaret M., *Death in Early America,* Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1976, pg. 16.

The ideas of body and technology in 19th century aren't new, but the cultural approach employed in looking at 19th century journalistic accounts indicate how prevalent these subject were. Criticism of Garfield's physicians focused on a general skepticism about the ability of doctors and of medical procedures and science in general to help patients (recent research on the McKinley assassination, 20 years after Garfield's, indicated that doctors were derided principally for their actions alone; medical science itself was not under siege.[75]) The public's ambiguity with science was evident with both praise and criticism of technology and scientific training. In short, the recurring theme of technology and professional medicine in assassination coverage indicated an early delineation between professionals and ordinary citizens that were to sharpen in the first decades of the 20th century.

---

[75] Ausenhus, Peter, *Journalism in National Crises: A Cultural View of Presidential Assassinations*, M.A. Thesis, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1992.

Bibliography

General

Poole, William Frederick, ed., *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1963.

Books/Theses

Ausenhus, Peter, *Journalism in National Crises: A Cultural View of Presiidential Assassinations*, M.A. Thesis, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1992.

Briggs, Vernon L., *The Manner of Man That Kills*, Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1921.

Carey, James W., *Communication as Culture*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Coffin, Margaret M., *Death in Early America*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1976.

Czitrom, Daniel J., *Media and the American Mind*, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Davies, John D., *Phrenology Fad and Science. A 19th-Century American Crusade*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.

Graber, Doris A., *Mass Media and American Politics*, 3rd. Edition, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989.

Greenberg, Bradley S., *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public*, Stanford University Press, 1965.

Leech, Margaret, and Harry J. Brown, *The Garfield Orbit*, New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Lyons, Louis M., *Newspaper Story, One Hundred Years of the Boston Globe*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

Nacos, Brigitte Lebens, *The Press, Presidents, and Crises*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

Nimmo, Dan and James E. Combs, *Nightly Horrors, Crisis Coverage by Television Network News*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Rammelkamp, Julian S., *Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch 1878-1883*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

White, Hayden, *The Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Zelizer, Barbie, "Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination and the Establishment of Journalistic Authority, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1990.

Journal Articles

Ettema, James S. and Theodore L. Glasser, "Narrative Form and Moral Force: The Realization of Innocence and Guilt Through Investigative Journalism," *Journal of Communication,* 38 (3):(summer 1988), pgs. 8-26.

Sneed, Don, "Newspapers Call for Swift Justice: A Study of the McKinley Assassination," *Journalism Quarterly*, 65: (summer 1988) pgs. 360-67.

Swett, Herbert E., "AP Coverage of the Lincoln Assassination," *Journalism Quarterly*, 47: (1970) pgs. 157-59.

Weaver-Lariscy, Ruth Ann, Barbara Sweeney and Thomas Steinfatt, "Communication During Assassination Attempts: Diffusion of Information in Attacks on President Reagan and the Pope," *The Southern Speech Communication Journal,* 49: (spring 1984) pgs. 258-276.

Periodical articles

Atwater, Lyman H., "The Assassination of the President," *The Presbyterian Review*, 2:(1881) pgs. 775-779.

"The Dead President," *Canadian Monthly*, 7: (November 1881) pgs. 538-539.

Eaton, Dorman B., "Assassination and the Spoils System," *Princeton Review* 8: (September 1881) pgs. 145-170.

Godkin, E.L., "The Attempt on the President's Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, 48: (September 1881) pgs. 395-401.

"Guiteau and the Experts," *The Nation,* 34 (June 29, 1882) pg. 536.

Horn, John, "What Was Seen and Read, Television: a transformation," *Columbia Journalism Review*, 2: (winter 1964).

Kingston, Fidelis, "A Spring of Yew," *Canadian Monthly*, 7: (December 1881) pgs. 554-559.

Shea, John Gilmary, "The Lessons of President Garfield's Assassination," *The American Catholic Quarterly*, 6: (October 1881) pgs. 683-690.

"The Week," *The Nation*, 33: (Sept. 22, 1881) pg. 223.

"The Week," *The Nation*, 33: (Sept. 29, 1881) pg. 241.

STANDING IDLY BY:
NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1958-59 INVESTIGATION INTO HOMOSEXUALITY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

A research paper submitted to the
1994 American Journalism Historians Association Convention

Ford Risley, Ph.D. Candidate
College of Journalism & Communications
University of Florida
2041C Weimer Hall
Gainesville, FL 32611

STANDING IDLY BY:
NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1958-59 INVESTIGATION INTO HOMOSEXUALITY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Introduction

On July 1, 1993, the state of Florida unsealed the records of one of the most sordid episodes in modern Florida history. For the first time the proceedings of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee or the "Johns Committee," as it was better known, were open to the public.[1] Established by the Florida Legislature in 1956 to investigate communists and other so-called subversive influences, the committee targeted the NAACP and homosexuals through the use of informers, hidden cameras, and tape recorders. During a nine-year period, more than 100 teachers and state employees were fired on grounds they were homosexuals.[2]

Florida newspapers gave extensive coverage to news of the Johns Committee's records being unsealed. Most of the state's daily newspapers, including the Florida Times-Union, Gainesville Sun, Miami Herald, Orlando Sentinel, St Petersburg Times, and Tampa Tribune, carried at least one story and, for a number of papers, it was front-page news.[3] But how did those six newspapers cover the Johns Committee during one of its most notorious investigations, the targeting of homosexuals at the University of Florida between 1958 and 1959? The committee's investigation has been compared to that of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in its zealous pursuit of communists and other alleged subversives. An examination of press coverage of the Johns Committee thus can reveal how newspapers at the state level covered a legislative investigation committee with enormous power.[4] The paper will also shed light on how newspapers treated the subject of homosexuality during the late 1950s.

---

[1] The 25,000 pages of documents pertaining to the Johns Committee were to have been sealed until 2038. But an amendment to the Florida Constitution, approved by voters in 1992, opened many previously sealed state documents, including the committee's records. Fla. Const, art. 1, sec. 24.

[2] See generally, Bonnie Stark, McCarthyism in Florida: Charley Johns and the Florida: Legislation Investigation Committee, July 1956 to July 1965. Master's thesis, University of South Florida, 1985.

The study examined coverage of the committee during a 22-week period between October 1958 and April 1959. This period covers the date when news of the investigation broke and the date when the university announced the firing of fourteen faculty for allegedly being homosexuals. The six newspapers studied were chosen because, with the exception of the Sun, they were among the largest daily papers in the state at the time and represented the state's various geographic regions. The Sun was selected because it was the paper of Gainesville, home of the university.

---

[3] The St. Petersburg Times also devoted six stories to news of the committee's records being unsealed. "The Johns Committee: A Special Report," 2 July 1993, sec. A, p. 1, 6-7.

[4] Scholars and press critics have discussed the news media's coverage of Senator McCarthy. See, for example, Edwin R. Bayley, Joe McCarthy and the Press (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981). But no studies have examined press coverage of legislative investigating committees at the state level.

Formation of the Committee

The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee was formed originally to study the anti-segregation activities of the Florida NAACP. Although never mentioning the NAACP by name, the bill creating the FLIC authorized the committee to investigate organizations or individuals who threatened the safety of Florida citizens by violating state laws.[5] Although some state legislators expressed reservations about the bill -- one member said it was broad enough to provide for the investigation "of anything that might come along" -- the measure passed both houses of the legislature with relative ease.[6] Governor Leroy Collins allowed the FLIC Act to become law in 1956 without his signature. In what would later prove to be an ironic remark, Collins explained why he did not veto the measure:

> I regard the matter as one for the legislature's determination and do not feel I should exercise my executive authority either to approve or veto the bill. I am confident, too, that the members of the committee will recognize their responsibility to all the people of Florida and not abuse the broad powers granted to them.[7]

Soon after the bill was enacted, the committee met to set up its operational procedures.[8] Three aspects of the procedures had important implications for the news media in the state. Members agreed that future meetings would be held in closed executive session, thereby prohibiting the press from covering the meetings. FLIC members also agreed that only the chairman would discuss the committee's investigations with the press. Finally, the committee agreed that no information on any investigation would be released to the public until the investigation was completed.[9]

---

[5] Florida Legislature, Acts of the 1956 Special Session, Chapter 31498.

[6] "Bills to Abolish," Tallahassee Democrat, 30 July 1956, p. 1.

[7] "NAACP Probing Bill Becomes Law," Tallahassee Democrat, 21 August 1956, p. 1.

[8] The FLIC was established before enactment of Florida's so-called "Sunshine Laws," which provide for open government.

As originally conceived, the committee began its work in 1956 by investigating the Florida NAACP. By that year, the NAACP had filed several lawsuits to force integration of the state's public schools.[10] Some legislators viewed the NAACP as racial troublemakers rather than a group serving the state's black community. But outside of calling the members before the committee for questioning and making public statements denouncing the organizations lawsuits, the committee could do nothing to prevent the NAACP from continuing its battle in the courts.

By the end of 1957, the FLIC had little to show for its work. Needing authorization to extend its life for two more years, members suggested that the committee's authority be expanded to include investigations of other so-called

---

[9] Stark, McCarthyism in Florida, p. 17-18. Although the Stark thesis likens the Johns Committee to the work of Senator McCarthy, the committee differed in its insistence on secrecy. See Bayley, Joe McCarthy and the Press.

[10] See, for example, Theodore R. Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, 108 So.2d 729 and Edward T. Graham v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, 126 So.2d 133.

"subversive" organizations in the state. Committee members told legislators that the committee had uncovered evidence that the Communist Party and "other subversive organizations" were seeking to "agitate and engender ill-will between the races of this and other states." The legislature agreed to this new authority for the FLIC.[11]

When the committee began its hearings in 1958, it had a new chairman: Senator Charley Johns. Johns was a former railroad conductor who later became president of his own insurance agency in his hometown of Starke. He was first elected to the Florida House in 1934 and moved to the Senate two years later. After the death of Florida's governor in 1953, the state Supreme Court ruled that Johns should become acting governor until the 1954 election. Former Governor Collins defeated Johns in the gubernatorial race and Johns returned to the Senate.[12]

Under the direction of Johns, the FLIC still made little headway in its investigation of the NAACP. The committee was unable to prove that any NAACP officers were communists or that the Communist Party had penetrated the organization. By mid-1958, the committee shifted the focus of investigation yet again. The FLIC's chief investigator, R. J. Strickland, was ordered to focus his attention on allegations that numerous homosexuals were on the faculty of the University of Florida, the state's oldest and largest university.[13]

---

[11] 1957 Fla. Laws ch. 57-125.

[12] The People of Lawmaking in Florida, 1822-1993. (Tallahassee: Florida House of Representatives, 1993), 51.

Charges of a connection between communists, university faculty, and homosexuals were nothing new in the United States. In the early 1950s, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy had claimed that communists often forced homosexuals to work for the party by blackmailing them with threats of public exposure.[14] During the same decade, the House Un-American Committee investigated numerous university professors who were considered security threats because of the views they held. The committee was backed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover who argued that communists were infiltrating the country's colleges and universities with the goal of recruiting students.[15]

University of Florida Investigation

In the fall of 1958 investigator Strickland began making trips to Gainesville, home of the University of Florida. The investigation at the university generally was kept secret, although in late October 1958 several newspapers in the state reported that investigator Strickland had make at least three trips to Gainesville during the fall of that year.[16] An expense voucher filed by Strickland showed that he had visited Gainesville for ten days in August, seven days in September, and twelve days in October. Records also showed that he had bought 3,000 feet of tape for his tape recorder and spent $165 for what was termed "confidential information."[17]

---

[13] Stark, McCarthyism in Florida, p. 49.

[14] Richard Rovere, Senator Joe McCarthy. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959), 153.

[15] Hoover Criticizes Academic License," New York Times, 14 November 1954, p. 75.

[16] The Tampa Tribune first reported Strickland's visits to the University of Florida. Martin Waldron, "Race Probe Investigator in Gainesville for 29 Days," Tampa Tribune, 28 October 1958, sec. A, p. 1.

Newspapers were unable to report exactly what Strickland was doing in the city, but it was believed he was gathering information that some University of Florida professors had advocated racial integration. Earlier in the fall, a black student enrolled at the College of Law, making Florida the first university in the state to be integrated. The Gainesville Sun speculated that Strickland was "watching the situation" at the College of Law. The university's administration refused to confirm or deny the newspaper stories. Johns was likewise silent on Strickland's visits to Gainesville.[18]

No more news stories on the committee's investigation at the university appeared the rest of 1958. Near the end of the year, rumors apparently began flying as to the real purpose of investigator Strickland's visits to Gainesville, but the press remained largely silent. Then in an editorial published on January 8, 1959, the Sun acknowledged it was "common knowledge" that the Johns Committee had uncovered what the newspaper termed

---

[17] Waldron, "Race Probe Investigator," sec. A, p. 1.

[18] "Senator Quiet on Probe Here," Gainesville Sun, 28 October 1958, sec. A, p. 1. The wire services picked up the story and several newspapers published the account. See, for example, "Racial Probe Unit Silent on Studies," Florida Times-Union, 29 October 1958, p. 24.

"shocking irregularities" in the conduct of some faculty members and other personnel at the university. The Sun never used the term homosexuality in the editorial, but said that anyone "involved" should be fired.[19]

In two more stories published during January, the Sun reported that the investigation was continuing. According to the story, Senator Johns had visited Gainesville and while in the city had met with Strickland as well as university President J. Wayne Reitz. The Sun did not mention the specific purpose of the committee's visits to Gainesville, except to repeat that it had uncovered "shocking irregularities" among some faculty members and other personnel. The Sun also reported that the Board of Control, the state agency that supervised higher education, had been informed of the investigation and extended its full cooperation. Neither Johns nor Reitz would comment on the purpose of the investigation.[20]

Then in a story published January 20 the Tampa Tribune reported that a faculty member had met with Reitz and claimed he had been intimidated and unfairly treated by the Johns Committee while being questioned at a Gainesville hotel. According to the story, the professor complained that Strickland and committee lawyer Mark Hawes "used intimidation, coercion and vague threats of physical harm in an attempt to wring an admission of irregular conduct from him." The professor said "leading questions in the area of sexual perversion" were asked and the investigators implied they had proof of his guilt and only wanted his admission to conclude the case. The investigators also "made references to pictures, statements, records and observations" but could not substantiate anything. Senator Johns was in the hotel room during part of the questioning, the professor said, but was not present when the threatening remarks were made.[21]

---

[19] "Dealing with Irregularities," Gainesville Sun, 8 January 1959, p. 4.

[20] "Johns Remains Quiet on Probe at University," Gainesville Sun, 12 January 1959, p. 1; "Evidence Needed Before Taking Action, Says Reitz," Gainesville Sun, 13 January 1959, p. 1.

Florida law at the time stated that a finding of "gross immorality" by a teacher was grounds for dismissal, although it did not define the term gross immorality.[22] But the law also required that any faculty member accused of the charges was entitled to a formal hearing. Further, the statute specified that the state Board of Education should conduct any investigations.[23]

The following day, several newspapers published Johns' response to the professor's charges. Johns said that "hostile" witnesses might force the committee to hold public hearings in connection with the investigation. Johns said he did not want to go public with the investigation because of the adverse publicity that would result. "We do not want to hurt the vast majority of staff and faculty members at the University of Florida who have no connection with wrongdoing," the Sun quoted Johns as saying. In the same story, Johns also denied that investigators had intimidated anyone questioned. "Our investigators have been kind, fair and patient," Johns said.[24]

---

[21] "Staff Member Tells Reitz Johns' Investigator Tried to 'Coerce, Intimidate,'" Tampa Tribune, 20 January 1959, sec. A, p. 3. The story outlining the professor's charges was picked up the wire services and carried by several newspapers. See for example, "U of F Morals Probe Tactics Draws Protest," 22 January 1959, sec. B, p. 1.

[22] Fla. Stat. ch. 231.28 (1959).

[23] Fla. Stat. ch. 229.16 (1959)

Then in late January most newspapers reported that the UF chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) had met and decided to probe the methods of the Johns Committee's investigation. One story quoted a faculty member as saying the probe was needed to determine "if we are living in a police state." The president of the AAUP said the group was concerned that people being questioned by the committee "understand their rights so that they may protect themselves as would any citizen." The account published in the Sun quoted AAUP members as saying the purpose of the committee's investigation was "alleged homosexual activity," the first time those words had appeared in the newspaper.[25] For the first time in Gainesville, the not-so-secret secret about the Johns Committee was out.

In February, a third story critical of the Johns Committee's investigative methods appeared in several newspapers. The story, first published in the Miami Herald, quoted an official of the Florida Civil Liberties Union as saying the investigation endangered the lives and reputations of innocent professors and students. The official said the investigation was an "usurpation" of the judicial function and that "violators of our laws against nature should be tried in a court of law . . . and not by a legislative investigating committee."[26]

---

[24] "UF Probe Witnesses Turns Hostile -- Johns," Gainesville Sun, 21 January 1959, p. 1.

[25] "U of F Morals Probe Tactics Draw Protest," Orlando Sentinel, 22 January 1959, sec. B, p. 1; "Profs to Probe UF Investigation," Gainesville Sun, 28 January 1959, p. 1.

Later in February several newspapers reported that the Johns Committee had turned its 2,800-page report on the investigation over to President Reitz.[27] No other stories appeared in any newspaper until March 19 when it was reported that the University of Florida had completed its evaluation of the Johns Committee report. Reitz was quoted at the time as saying, "We have evaluated the evidence. And, where valid evidence exists, we have taken and are taking appropriate action."[28] Then on April 3, 1959 most of the newspapers reported President Reitz's announcement that fourteen faculty and personnel at the university had been dismissed "as a result of homosexual activity on the campus." Further, the records of those dismissed had been "appropriately marked." The newspapers also reported that action had been taken against the "few students involved." No names of any persons implicated were revealed.[29]

---

[26] "Liberties Group Hits Moral Probe," Miami Herald, 10 February 1959, sec. C, p. 2. The wire services picked up the story and it was carried in several newspapers. See, for example, "FCLU Protests Johns Probe," St. Petersburg Times, 11 February 1959, sec. B, p. 1.

[27] See, for example, "Reitz Studies Report on U of F Morals Probe," St. Petersburg Times, 17 February 1959, sec. B, p. 1.

[28] "UF Completes Study of Johns Probe Report," Gainesville Sun, 19 March 1959, p. 1.

Aftermath of Investigation

When the Florida Legislature convened later in April, Hawes and Strickland of the FLIC staff reported the committee's findings. In a locked-door Senate session on April 30, the legislators were told that homosexuality posed a grave threat to the state. Hawes reported that:

> some of the state's instructional personnel at the higher educational level have been and are recruiting young people into homosexual practices and these young people have been and are becoming teachers in the public school system of Florida, and some are recruiting teenage students into homosexual practices.[30]

The committee's report was well received by the legislature. Committee members, however, pointed out the University of Florida was one of four universities in the state. The committee had not investigated the other three schools. The legislature expanded the committee's powers to investigate homosexuality at state agencies and granted the committee a budget of $67,500 for the next two years.

From the FLIC's viewpoint, the investigation at the University of Florida had proceeded smoothly. And for the next two years the committee went about its activities in relative secrecy. The committee divided its time between the ongoing legal battle with the NAACP and its pursuit of communists and homosexuals in the state.[31] But in 1961 the FLIC ran into trouble. That year the committee investigated one junior college teacher and two high school teachers from Pinellas County on the suspicion they were homosexuals. Armed with this evidence, the Board of Education revoked their teaching certificates.[32]

---

[29] "14 Leave UF in Morals Cleanup, Reitz Reveals," 3 April 1959, p. 1. The Florida Times-Union was the only newspaper that did not carry a story on the announcement.

[30] Florida Senate, "Report of the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee to the 1959 Legislative Session," April 1959, pp. 4-7.

The teachers filed a lawsuit claiming that their confessions were obtained through threats and other coercive measures. Their case eventually was heard by the Florida Supreme Court which ruled in the teachers' favor and ordered their teaching certificates be returned. The court said the teachers had been denied the right to a proper hearing and notice of the charges. In a blow to the FLIC, the court also ruled that the committee had no authority to investigate homosexual activities because it was not prescribed in the statute creating the FLIC. The court said investigator Strickland had misrepresented his authority by telling the teachers his committee had subpoena powers, thereby threatening them with publicity.[33]

In its 1961 report to the state legislature, the FLIC reported that since 1959 thirty-nine teaching certificates had been revoked and fourteen were pending. The committee concluded that the problem of homosexuality in Florida was "more serious and extensive that the committee previously believed."[34] The committee requested another bill renewing its life and the legislature approved the measure. But more problems lay ahead for the FLIC. An investigation into homosexuality and communist influences at the University of South Florida in 1962 was roundly criticized after the committee tried to get involved in the selection of speakers and books at the campus. Faculty and administrators at the university united to oppose the committee. Significantly, many of the state's newspapers also criticized the committee for trying to interfere with academic freedom.[35]

---

[31] Stark, McCarthyism in Florida, p. 111.

[32] For an account of what happened to one of the teachers see: David Barstow, "St. Petersburg Teacher Found Himself Target," St. Petersburg Times, 2 July 1993, sec. A, p. 6.

[33] William James Neal v. Farris Bryant, et al; Mary Frances Bradshaw v. State Board of Education; and Anne Louise Poston v. State Board of Education, 149 So. 2d 529 (Fla. 1962).

The Johns Committee's actions the previous two years had brought it under increasing scrutiny.[36] In April 1963 the state legislature extended the FLIC's life for two more years, but an amendment was tacked on requiring the committee to adopt rules protecting the rights of witnesses and also to file a status report with the legislature every three months. Then in 1964 the committee published a report on homosexuality in Florida.[37] Known as the "purple pamphlet," it was intended to be a guide for law enforcement personnel and an educational tool for the public. But its content, which included pornographic pictures and a glossary of vocabulary spoken by homosexuals, was heavily criticized by state officials and private citizens as being little more than obscenity.[38] The purple pamphlet was the the final blow for the FLIC and the committee died with little fanfare in 1965 when no legislation was proposed to extend its life.

---

[34] Florida Senate, Report of the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee, p. 20.

[35] Stark, McCarthyism in Florida, p. 190.

[36] In 1963 investigator Strickland and others helped to frame a reporter with the Orlando Sentinel who had written stories critical of the committee. They hired a woman to lure the reporter to a hotel where compromising pictures were taken. Emmett Peter, Jr. "Florida's Sinner Safari," The New Republic, 27 April 1963, p. 15.

Analysis

Writing in 1952, six years before the University of Florida investigation began, journalism educator Dozier C. Cade addressed press coverage of legislative investigating committees. With few exceptions, he said the news media's role has been

> . . . mainly that of a reporter - in the "who, what, when, where" sense, with little of no attention to the "why." The press goes into action when the witch-hunter grabs his prey. It tells all about what the witch-hunter says about the "witch," but little or nothing about the witch-hunter himself - or what the victim has to say in his defense.[39]

Cade's description aptly fits the six Florida newspapers insofar as their coverage of the Johns Committee's investigation into homosexuality at the University of Florida.

---

[37] Homosexuality and Citizenship in Florida, A Report of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, 1964.

[38] "Purple Pamphlet Curtailed," Miami Herald, 19 March 1964, p. 1.

[39] Dozier C. Cade, "Witch-Hunting, 1952: The Role of the Press," Journalism Quarterly. 29 (Fall 1952).

With the exception of the Florida Times-Union,[40] each of the newspapers carried the initial news of the committee's investigation and the decision to fire fourteen faculty and personnel at the university. But in the period between these two major announcements, several of the newspapers missed the real story -- the story of the "witch-hunter (to use Cade's term). Only the Gainesville Sun and the Tampa Tribune published each of the three allegations that the committee was violating the civil rights of the investigation's subjects. The Miami Herald, Orlando Sentinel, and St. Petersburg Times each failed to run stories on one or more of the allegations. The Sun and the Tribune[41] also were the only newspapers to carry staff-written stories on the investigation. The other three newspapers all relied exclusively on the wire services.[42]

Even more significantly, none of the six newspapers ever followed up on charges that the committee was using highly questionable methods when interviewing subjects. As noted, in three separate instances allegations were made that investigators with the committee overstepped their authority by violating people's civil rights. If what was being claimed about the investigation was true, the committee clearly was breaking the law. Yet none of the six newspapers conducted their own examination of the allegations, including interviewing targets of the investigation. Once again, Cade's description of how newspapers covered investigative committees rang true.

---

[40] The Times-Union all but ignored the investigation, running a total of only three stories. This is somewhat surprising because the Times-Union operated a news bureau in Gainesville and covered the university rather extensively.

[41] The Tribune operated a news bureau in Gainesville.

[42] Although none of the newspapers operated news bureaus in Gainesville, each had bureuas in Tallahassee, the state capital. And each published staff-written stories from Gainesville from time to time.

Also significantly, none of the newspapers studied ever editorialized about the Johns Committee's tactics at the University of Florida. As one critic of the press has noted, newspaper editorials in the 1950s were a more important part of the information process than they are today when the role of the interpretative reporter has become established and when alternative news outlets have proliferated. In the 1950s, readers looked to the editorial page to help make sense of the news taking place.[43] Yet only six editorials addressed the investigation at the university. The Sun published three editorials, while the Herald, Sentinel, and Times published one each.

The few editorials, while not outrightly endorsing the Johns Committee's methods, generally supported its work. In its first editorial on the subject, the Gainesville Sun expressed concern that anyone found to be homosexual would be allowed simply to resign. The newspaper wrote:

> We believe this would lead to bad consequences . . . . Without a discharge to follow those whose guilt is established, they will easily find positions elsewhere in the academic life of the United States. We must be concerned with young people everywhere as there are no arbitrary limits to the necessity

---

[43] Bayley, Joe McCarthy and the Press, 48.

> for moral strength in this nation in a perilous age.[44]

In its only editorial on the subject, the Miami Herald wrote:

> The University of Florida is the subject of an investigation that a small group of faculty members and an undisclosed number of students are involved in immoral acts. It is a shocking allegation and it demands swift action to prove the charges false or to take adequate steps if they are true . . .[45]

There is little doubt that the belief homosexuality was immoral influenced newspaper reporting and editorializing on the Johns Committee's investigation. The idea that the Johns Committee was involved in a "morals" investigation appeared in many stories. A headline with a story in the Orlando Sentinel said, "Morals Probe Under Way on U of F Campus."[46] And the Gainesville Sun's headline with the story announcing the firings said, "14 Leave in UF Morals Cleanup."[47] For several weeks after news broke of the committee's investigation, the Sun would not even use the term homosexuality in its news stories and editorials. Instead, the newspaper used the term "shocking irregularities." When news of the investigation first broke, and many believed the committee was looking into integration on the campus, the St. Petersburg Times published an editorial criticizing the committee for interfering with "free thinking" on integration.[48] However, the Times never published any editorials criticizing the committee's investigation into homosexuality at the University. Finally, it is important to note that the newspapers took a far different stance and criticized the Johns Committee when it began investigating subversive influences at the University of South Florida. But at that campus the issue was more one of academic freedom than homosexuality.

---

[44] "Dealing with Irregularities," Gainesville Sun, p. 4.

[45] "Swiftly Answer: False or True," Miami Herald, 18 February 1959, sec. A, p. 6.

[46] "Morals Probe Under Way On U of F Campus," Orlando Sentinel, 13 January 1959, sec. B, p. 1.

[47] "14 Leave UF in Morals Cleanup," Gainesville Sun, 3 April 1959, p. 1.

Conclusions

In evaluating the six newspapers it is not fair to judge them strictly by present-day standards. The Johns Committee's investigation at the University of Florida was undertaken during a period of tremendous world and domestic tension. Continuing racial troubles in the South and escalating problems from the Cold War created a climate of fear. Many Floridians, including members of the press, rightly or wrongly saw the need to fight against subversives who they believed posed a threat to the country. Homosexuality, in particular, was a mystery to much of the public, including the press. Homosexuality not only was considered a crime against nature, but those who practiced it were considered susceptible to communist influences. From this perspective, the approach taken by many newspapers -- that the committee was involved in a "morals cleanup" -- perhaps can be more easily understood.

But the newspapers can be criticized for their failure to alert readers of possible civil rights violations by the committee. Certainly, the newspapers were at a disadvantage because much of the Johns Committee's investigation was conducted in secret. But once charges regarding the committee's aggressive tactics were made public, the newspapers made no attempt to interview subjects of the investigation and put together any kind story presenting their side. Even worse, none of the newspapers ever used their editorial pages to raise legitimate questions about the committee's purpose and methods in targeting homosexuals at the university. A state legislative committee had far exceeded its authority by acting as prosecutor and judge -- instead of simply as an investigative arm of the legislature. Yet, the newspapers stood idly by. In the final analysis, a newspaper has to be judged on whether it informs readers both fully and fairly on the issues of the day. With respect to the Johns Committee's investigation at the University of Florida, the newspapers let their readers down.

---

[48] "Campus Cloak and Dagger," St. Petersburg Times, 10 October 1958, sec. A, p. 10.

Public Relations, the Community, and Newspaper Coverage of a Local Steel Strike, 1946

by

Dr. Karen S. Miller
Department of Advertising/Public Relations
University of Georgia
Athens, GA
30602-3018
karenm@uga.cc.uga.edu

706/542-5035

Submitted to
American Journalism Historians Association
Roanoke Meeting

May 1, 1994

Public Relations, the Community, and Newspaper Coverage of a Local Steel Strike, 1946

Abstract

During negotiations between management and labor at a machine tool manufacturing plant in Madison, Wisconsin, the city's two daily newspapers covered the issues in both their news and editorial columns quite differently. Yet when the union walked out, both papers focused on order, seeking resolution of the strike rather than taking sides. Possible reasons for the similarity in coverage include attitudes toward the strike at the national level, local and national public relations efforts by the union and the steel industry, and community structure. More than anything else, however, the community's history, especially its inexperience with labor disputes and its proximity to violent strikes in cities like Chicago, explains the newspapers'—and the community's—efforts to contain the conflict.

Public Relations, the Community, and Newspaper Coverage of a Local Steel Strike, 1946

On 21 February 1946 hundreds of workers from a small machine tool manufacturing company in Madison, Wisconsin, staged a parade to announce to the city that they had gone on strike. Led by World War II veterans who were now members of the union, the strikers marched from the plant to the state capitol and back, carrying signs that demanded higher wages. The largest strike in the city's history was front-page news for both of its daily newspapers. "1,100 Strike, Halt Gisholt Production," the Wisconsin State Journal proclaimed, adding in a subhead, "Union Parades to Square and Back; Leader Promises Orderly Walkout." A headline over the jump in the Capital Times story read, "World War II Vets Lead Orderly March Around Capitol Square Today."[1] The emphasis on "order" was not accidental. Despite sometimes sharp political and ideological disagreements that led them to cover the news differently before the strike, coverage of the strike itself in both newspapers downplayed conflict in a situation which inherently involved competition between community groups.

Several factors shaped newspaper coverage in the rival news organizations. This paper reviews the national steel strike and the events at the plant in Madison; examines the public relations campaigns of the steel industry trade association and the steelworkers' union; describes the public relations efforts at the local level; and analyzes press coverage of the local strike to demonstrate that although these factors did affect the ways the papers covered the events leading up to strike, once the threat of conflict became real, the community's history, especially its inexperience with labor disputes, led both newspapers—and others in the city—to seek to contain community conflict.

Historical Context: Steel Industry and Labor During World War II

World War II temporarily eased although by no means halted the ongoing battle between steel labor and management at the national level.[2] Labor relations in the steel industry had been strained since the nineteenth century; violent strikes and lockouts, industrial espionage, and blacklisting typified the relationship as late as 1937. Many steel companies did not unionize until after Pearl Harbor. However, the United Steelworkers of

America, along with other unions that belonged to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, pledged not to strike during the war. In exchange industry allowed a maintenance of membership program that helped unions preserve and expand their strength.[3] Industry and labor agreed that production records during the war period were incredible. "Steel poured into the war machine with such volume that the leaders of the armed forces repeatedly expressed amazement and gratitude," union secretary David J. McDonald told the steelworkers. "The cooperation of labor and management on the steel production front was no small factor in the victories on the battle front."[4] However, wildcat strikes called by locals erupted periodically throughout the war,[5] indicating that the wartime industry truce was uneasy at best.

As the war drew to a close, many union members remembered the disaster that followed World War I, when industry effectively crushed organized labor,[6] and they immediately launched a movement to solidify labor's position. As "Economic Outlook," a publication of the CIO, said in January, 1946, "The actions of the steel industry give the union good reason to fear a union-wrecking campaign like that of the 'twenties, which destroyed the newly developed labor unions of that era."[7] Robert Asher's study of steelworkers who chose not to strike after the end of the First World War found that many based that decision on the painful memories of earlier strikes lost.[8] But after World War II the memory of the loss in 1919 made labor more adamant in its demand to retain the gains of the New Deal and war eras. Steelworkers were not alone in questioning the industry's acceptance of the union. Over sixty percent of the respondents in one 1946 survey said that the steel companies bargained with the unions "only because they have to."[9]

Financial and job security constituted another reason for labor agitation. Many steelworkers feared joblessness after the war. A March, 1944 survey commissioned by the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI) found that fifty-five percent of the steelworkers polled thought "the biggest problem after the war" would be "jobs; unemployment," compared to only twenty-eight percent who listed wages first.[10] Workers also believed that they had sacrificed enough. "Restrained by the wartime no-strike pledge," concluded labor historian James Green, "the U.S. working class exploded after the war in a wave of militant strikes designed to make up for the decline in labor's living standards that occurred during the wage freeze and inflationary upsurge of the Second World War."[11]

The National Steel Strike of 1946

1946 was the most strike-torn year in American history, with the nation losing more hours of work from strikes in January and February than were lost during the entire war. The steel strike was just one part of this uprising, but a significant part because of the size of the industry and its importance to production of automobiles, appliances, and other consumer goods. It lasted about three weeks, and without doubt it was costly. According to AISI figures, about $120 million in wages and $330 in sales were lost; anticipated production of seven and one-half million tons of ingots and over five million tons of finished steel did not take place.[12]

Events that led to the nation's largest-ever steel strike began in November of 1945, when the United Steelworkers of America demanded a twenty-five cent per hour wage increase. The industry, represented in negotiations by Benjamin F. Fairless of United States Steel, refused to grant so large an increase, arguing that the industry could not tolerate such a raise without price relief.[13] On 17 January President Truman determined that there should be a general wage increase of eighteen and one-half cents per hour, which the union accepted.[14] But, said the USWA's International Wage Policy Committee, "American industry, drunk with the exorbitant profits exacted as its price for war production," refused to pay more than fifteen cents.[15] On 21 January union president Philip Murray ordered the strike. About 750,000 men from over 1,000 mills walked out, complicating an already confused labor situation which included strikes in the meatpacking, telephone, and even the coffinmaking industries.[16] On 25 January the steel union's secretary-treasurer declared "the shut down is 100% complete from coast to coast and border to border."[17] However, the AISI reported in January that the industry was operating at just under five percent of capacity.[18] Some still labored.

The resolution of the strike had little to do with negotiations between labor and management. At the heart of the national strike was the relationship between government and industry. New Deal reforms, notably the National Labor Relations Act, revitalized the labor movement, which made fantastic gains during the 1930s—including the unionization of US

Steel. Business leaders despised government for taking labor's side and for interfering in other aspects of management.[19] "The outbreak of World War II," according to one business historian, "brought an armistice in the war between government and business. Both sides stopped snarling at each other and turned their attention to the common enemy."[20] The end of the war meant the end of that arrangement. Although historian Barton Bernstein has argued that in part companies wanted to shore up their market positions and that some hoped to break the union,[21] the most important objective of steel executives was to break the government's system of wage and price control, which they felt caused too much federal intrusion into their territory.[22] "A battering ram of propaganda," columnist Marquis Childs wrote of the steel strike, "is aimed at wiping out all price controls."[23] The industry refused to settle with the union until the Truman administration issued new guidelines[24] that increased steel prices by about $5 per ton—effectively shattering price control, although the President insisted it was simply a "bulge," not a break in the line, and he and others in the administration publicly treated the prices and the strikes as different issues.[25] Thus, although AISI president Charles White later complained that the steel strike "was not settled on an economic basis, but on a political basis,"[26] in fact the industry had politicized the negotiations in the first place by demanding the participation of the Office of Price Administration.

The contract signed by US Steel and the union after the price increase is generally considered the end of the story of the steel strike of 1946. However dominating USS was, it did not represent the entire steel industry when it negotiated an agreement. Hundreds of smaller corporations, especially steel fabricators and machine tool manufacturers, had not resolved their labor problems after Fairless and Murray settled. Many small plants began to sign contracts with locals, enacting USS's wage increase.[27] But not all the strikes ended so easily.

Local 1404 vs. Gisholt Machine Company

One unresolved dispute occurred in Madison, Wisconsin, where the 1,100 members of USWA Local 1404 struck Gisholt Machine Company, the city's largest industrial employer. Gisholt manufactured machine tools—machines used to cut and shape metal, such as the working parts of automobiles, refrigerators, or vacuum cleaners. It was family-operated by

George H. Johnson and H. Stanley Johnson, grandsons of the founder, John A. Johnson, who opened shop in 1886,[28] and its workers had organized peacefully in 1937.

Gisholt was not important on a national or even regional scale, but to Madison's citizens it very dramatically brought the national labor problem home. Known primarily for its agriculture, Wisconsin held tenth place among the states in the value of its manufactured products in 1946.[29] 1404 was one of about 1,800 locals of the USWA and a part of District 32-Milwaukee; several other locals within the district were much larger.[30] However, as the state capital and the home of the University of Wisconsin rather than an industrial center, the city of Madison had never been a part of the violent labor strife that had occurred in other parts of the nation.

Community-level industrial relations are important for other reasons. "The union experiences of the member are in the local union," according to some sociologists;[31] most members have no association with the union outside their local workplace. The same might be said of ordinary citizens, who might criticize unions, and especially their controversial leaders,[32] but who had no direct contact with them except at the local level. Negotiation occurs at the local level,[33] because contracts are negotiated between management and labor of one particular plant, even when both are following the example of the national union or the largest companies in the industry. Moreover, according to at least one postwar survey of managers, their own employees comprised the single most important audience for public relations activities.[34] Thus, although the big decisions were made by national leaders, for employers, employees, and many in the public, labor relations in the community were more relevant on a personal level than national negotiations, except to the extent that strikes slowed output of consumer products.

The course of the national strike had great influence on both the local and Gisholt, but neither side simply followed the pattern established at the national level. For example, the workers did follow USWA wage demands, starting with twenty-five cents per hour and dropping to eighteen and one-half after the union accepted Truman's proposal. "At the Union membership meeting on January 27th, 1946," the Local told Gisholt's president, "the membership instructed its bargaining committee to reject all company offers except those in line with the national wage policy of the United Steelworkers of America."[35] They did so throughout the strike. However, when the USWA declared that the shutdown was 100 percent complete, the men in Madison were still at their machines, adhering "to its contract with the Gisholt company, which provides that the contract must remain in effect fro 90 days after the breakdown of negotiations," according to USWA's regional director.[36] And, during the third week of February, when other small companies were reaching settlements, the workers at Gisholt walked out.

Gisholt, like big steel, demanded price relief first. The company claimed that the entire machine tool industry faced "a very severe readjustment." "Our situation differs from manufacturers of automobiles and electrical appliances and other consumer products where the demand for goods is great, and none were produced during the war," George Johnson wrote in a letter to employees. "It is impossible for a period of time to predict what our costs will be." (In fact, by the time the company prepared its annual report for 1946, it had an almost 50 percent greater backlog of orders than it had at the time of the strike.) Therefore the company's first three proposals offered the union contracts that would give employees the opportunity to earn higher wages, but only after the company earned a set amount of profit.[37]

At the same time, however, management insisted that Gisholt's strike be separated from big steel's.[38] Early in the local negotiation process, the union presented management with a "memorandum of stipulation" prepared by the Milwaukee office which granted a thirty-day extension of the contract. George Johnson, negotiating for Gisholt, was very pleased. "This document clearly shows that you are not tied to the national strike," Johnson reportedly said, "and this document is the first demonstration that I have had that you fellows are in a position to bargain collectively."[39] On another occasion union negotiators mentioned OPA chief Chester Bowles, and Stanley Johnson exclaimed, "I don't understand what Chester Bowles has to do with the company's proposal and the condition of the company."[40] As AISI's Ernest T. Weir, head of one of the large steel companies, told a radio interviewer, "the steel industry is composed of from 150 to 200 corporations....I think it's quite obvious that a situation that might apply to one company would not necessarily apply to all the rest."[41] Businesses wanted to negotiate independently, with their own employees.

Management wanted Gisholt's strike handled separately from the national one for the simple reason that it did not want to pay the eighteen and one-half cent wage increase pattern set by big steel. "We do not want a strike and we do not think you want a strike," one member of the management team reportedly told the local's bargaining committee on 18 February. "This company cannot afford to pay $18^1/_2$¢ per hour." In fact, they added, "we would be doing well to go along on a straight 10¢ per hour raise."[42] That proposal in different forms was twice rejected by the union. Like big steel, Gisholt "stuck to its argument that it 'simply can't afford to pay more than what has been proposed until the Office of Price Administration grants a price increase to the machine tool industry.'"[43] Neither side willing to give in, negotiations broke down until the mayor intervened, asking the parties to renew their talks.[44]

The strike ended after four weeks on 19 March, when the union approved, unanimous but for one vote, Gisholt's fourth proposal, which granted the eighteen and one-half cent raise that the union had demanded. The new contract halted the company's incentive plan and established a minimum rate of 76 cents per hour.[45] Negotiations continued for some months, however, with the company and the union unable to reach agreements on certain sections of the contract.[46]

National Public Relations Efforts

National public relations efforts are important because, although they did not concern the Gisholt strike specifically, they did disseminate information journalists in Madison could use in their own articles and that the local organizations could emulate if they so chose. The American Iron and Steel Institute paid its public relations agency, Hill and Knowlton of New York, for a national campaign that included news releases, radio addresses by top steel executives, pamphlets, and background memoranda. H&K also prepared a series of advertisements that appeared in over 2,000 newspapers. The ads, which ran during the negotiations and the strike, included headlines like "Why the Steel Industry Cannot Pay Increased Wages Now," "Will There Be a Steel Strike?" and "There Are No 'Hidden' Steel Profits." All of these tactics were used to explain the industry's position and refute charges made by the union.[47]

AISI public relations activities concentrated on economic arguments. The industry emphasized most that wages and prices could not be separated. "Government officials are acting and talking as though what happens to wages," an H&K staff member wrote in the industry's magazine, Steelways, "has no bearing on prices. This is directly contrary to the economic facts of life."[48] The industry insisted that its profits during the war had been "moderate," that stockholders "were paid a very low return on their investment" despite the record production rates,[49] and that the stockholder was "likely to be your own next-door neighbor."[50] US Steel's Fairless asserted that the strike pitted the union against reconversion, "full production and employment," and the ability of the returning "serviceman to go to work." In effect, it was "a strike against the public."[51] But, reiterating the industry's major argument, AISI president Charles M. White said that "what is causing inflation is not the withdrawal of OPA from control of our markets but the ill-advised wage increases which have been recommended and supported by the Administration under the pretense that an increase in wages would not call for an increase in prices."[52]

Perhaps the industry's most effective argument with the public was peripheral to the negotiations: the AISI accused the union of breaking its contract by reopening the wage issue before contract's termination date, October 16. Hill and Knowlton prepared an advertisement, "Is This a 'Scrap of Paper'?" that displayed the section of the contract containing the termination date. The union's general counsel explained to president Murray that one contract provision did indeed list a fixed termination date, but a second stated that "in the event of a change in the national wage policy the matter of a general wage adjustment can be reopened by either party for collective bargaining." Because Truman had issued an executive order on 18 August that changed the national wage policy, the union felt justified reopening wage negotiations.[53] Based on that reasoning, the union publicly denied that it had broken its contract.[54] However, more than one citizen wrote to Murray about the AISI ad, including one from St. Petersburg, Florida. If the ad's accusations were true, he said, "then I am entirely out of sympathy with your organization as an irresponsible outfit, and with you too if you condone this violation of contract."[55] Even Truman believed that the union was wrong.[56]

Faced with a formidable public relations opponent, the steelworkers likewise fought to make their case public. The CIO had what Business Week called a "many-faceted" public relations program that made broad use of daily newspapers, union publications, radio, pamphlets, motion pictures and even comic books. This program won an award from the American Public Relations Association, for "ingenuity" and "unusual technique," in April, 1946.[57] In addition to CIO promotion of the labor agenda, the USWA promoted steelworkers' views specifically. It sponsored a series of radio programs on the ABC, CBS, and NBC radio networks[58] and encouraged local unions to contact members of Congress and "to let local newspapers and radio stations know by press release that you are going to visit your Congressman or Senator. Let them know by press release the results of that interview."[59] Including Steel Labor, the union's official publication, the USWA publicity department claimed to have distributed 30 million pieces of literature from 1944 to 1946.[60]

USWA leadership emphasized several points in the union's public relations campaign. They argued that the industry had issued a challenge to the government. Murray told the Truman administration that the "steel industry is clearly engaged in a brazen attempt to bludgeon the Government of the United States."[61] Like the industry, labor made economic arguments for their pay raise, suggesting that if profits were too high, the companies would be taking cash flow out of the economy, thereby slowing growth.[62] They added that the worker's take-home pay had been steadily reduced by inflation and would soon drop even more, because a return to the forty-hour week and a looser labor market "would eliminate all overtime working hours and accomplish widespread downgrading."[63] Murray also requested that Congress halt the reconversion tax benefits it had granted the industry, maintaining that guaranteed profits would help the industry break the strike.[64] Some even said that the industry wanted to crush the union. USS's Fairless denied the charge, saying that, if granted, a fifteen-cent per hour increase would be the largest in the industry's history. "You don't destroy unions," Fairless said, "by offering them the highest wage increase in history."[65]

Local Public Relations Efforts

Both parties in the local strike also tried to influence press coverage, and although both sides attempted to keep the public informed on its views of the strike, the union was much more active and more visible in Madison. Along with picketing the plant, located on one of the main streets in the city, and staging parades from the plant to the state capitol, members regularly made statements to the press and issued news releases to both of the city's daily newspapers, the Wisconsin State Journal and the Capital Times.[66] They also wrote letters to the editor, protested an alderman's statement that the union was asking for too much by writing an open letter to him, and approved plans to run a small advertisement in the two papers "justifying our objectives and to better acquaint the public in regard to the issues" for which the union was striking.[67] The union considered public opinion in other ways, voting to impose fines on members who skipped their turns picketing or who were intoxicated while on picket duty.[68]

Union statements, whether in negotiations or news releases or on picket signs, emphasized the issue of a living wage. The men maintained that their families simply could not live on what the company wanted to pay them.[69] The local also contended that the company could afford increased wages. George Reger, vice-president of the local, told union members that the company would be eligible for a tax refund of over $1 million, according to figures from Standard and Poor, if certain profit levels were not met in 1946.[70] The union also mentioned its terrific war record, pointing out that Gisholt was one of the first firms in Wisconsin to receive the Army-Navy "E" pennant for excellent production records, to demonstrate that the men were highly skilled and productive. "These men have just given the Gisholt company the greatest production period in its history. The men who work at Gisholt are good citizens," said the local's president. "A great many of them are property owners in Madison, and they are raising their families here." The men could have gone elsewhere during the war to take advantage of high wages in a tight labor market, but they had stayed; "they are now entitled to some consideration."[71]

George and Stanley Johnson likewise made their views public, issuing statements to the press at each step of the negotiation. Leaders had close contact with the Steel Institute because during the war George Johnson headed the National Machine Tool Builders Association, a part of the AISI.[72]

Perhaps that explains why although before the end of the war Gisholt's president had emphasized the need for cooperation and mutual understanding between management and labor,[73] during the negotiations and strike the company chose to concentrate on economic issues. Management insisted that Gisholt could not afford wage increases without price increases in the machine tool industry. And, they added, the increased prices for big steel did not directly affect them.

The company also ran three ads in one of the local newspapers. The first announced to employees, "Your Group Insurance Will Be Kept in Force During the Month of March." The company promised to advance both its share and the employees' shares so that their insurance would not lapse during the strike. A second ad, "Who Wants to End the Strike at Gisholt?" told employees that the company, the public, and many employees wanted the strike to end and encouraged them to attend the union meeting to vote on one of the company's proposals. "We've done our best!" the ad said. The last advertisement reminded union members the day before the vote on the eighteen and one-half cent proposal that it was their "duty to everyone concerned to be present to cast your vote."[74]

Press Coverage in Madison Prior to the Strike

Madison's two daily newspapers divided politically, the Capital Times representing the liberal position while the Wisconsin State Journal was more conservative. According to some labor leaders in the area, "in the past, organized labor has looked to" editor William T. Evjue "and The Capital Times for liberal political leadership."[75] Business leaders such as the Johnsons favored the State Journal, placing their advertisements supposedly intended for union members in that publication, even though most probably read the other newspaper.

Many of the arguments made by the AISI and the USWA did appear in Madison. National sources included news and general interest magazines and newspapers with national circulations, such as the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. Network radio coverage was also available, and national strikes were a popular topic for radio commentators. ABC's Raymond Gram Swing, for example, chastised the government for its role in the steel strike, saying, "it is disquieting to watch labor peace being bought by an increase in prices, even a modest one."[76] NBC's H.V. Kaltenborn remarked on several of the AISI-sponsored speeches, repeating Fairless' comment that a fifteen-cent raise would be the highest ever and US Steel chair Irving Olds' estimation that a wage increase of over eighteen cents per hour would require a price increase of $6.25 per ton.[77] Moreover, both of the local newspapers relied on the wire services for information on the national strike: wire stories in the State Journal came from United Press, while the Capital Times subscribed to the Associated Press. Both newspapers ran the advertisements sponsored by the American Iron and Steel Institute.[78] Each also included editorial pieces written by syndicated columnists like Drew Pearson and Marquis Childs.

Just because information about the national strike appeared did not mean it was related to the local situation, however. The State Journal left it to individual citizens to tie the events at Gisholt to the national-level issues. For instance, a Journal story about the end of the national steel strike explained that the USWA said "that negotiations were also underway or being arranged with many steel fabricators and hundreds of other companies with which the union holds contracts," but it made no mention of the local negotiations.[79] Only once, when it noted that the local's wage demands dropped "in line with national policy which settled the strike in big steel," did the Journal link the Gisholt strike with the national one.[80]

The Capital Times, on the other hand, did publish articles that linked the local to the national. One such story described at length the negotiations at Gisholt, explaining that its contract required the union to work for at least one week after the national strike began. "The Gisholt union participated last November in a nation-wide vote on the question of a strike and voted at the ratio of five to one in favor of joining the strike," the article said.[81] Making apparent the connection between local and national meant that people who saw the AISI ad "Is This a 'Scrap of Paper?'" could evaluate it in relation to the local events and therefore determine that not all the AISI's claims bore on the local situation. The local men carefully followed their contract to the letter.

Local public relations efforts met with more success. In general, both papers printed stories summarizing each group's stated position every time one side or the other issued a news release. For instance, on 25 January, both the State Journal and the Capital Times ran page-one articles on management's second proposal, quoting from a letter George Johnson wrote to the employees. Three days later, the papers explained that the union had rejected the offer, this time quoting William Slightam, president of the local, who explained the union's reasoning.

Capital Times coverage tended to be lengthier, sometimes including information that might be construed as pro-union. For instance, in his article on the second wage proposal, Cedric Parker explained that the new offer was "similar to a proposal which was rejected by the Gisholt union membership Sunday," and that take-home pay at Gisholt would be declining due to "a return to the 40-hour week." It also spelled out in greater detail the conditions that must be met before the workers could count on the full wage increase.[82] Then, too, the Capital Times covered one part of the story that the Journal missed, when a city alderman told two university students who had approached him on behalf of the CIO workers that the USWA should settle for fifteen cents, big steel's latest offer. The union wrote a letter to the alderman, "declaring that his 'thoughts and actions are not very well co-ordinated,' because he voted in the common council to raise aldermen's salaries 60 per cent" while opposing the much lower demand of the union.[83] The paper was always careful to provide balance to such stories, as when it reprinted George Johnson's letter to the employees in full at the end of Parker's story on the second wage proposal.

Balanced coverage did not necessarily help to bring the union and management together. During the last contract meeting between labor and management negotiators, Stanley Johnson castigated the local's representatives for a newspaper article that included an accusation that the company underpaid its employees. "I don't know how much you fellows had to do with this," he said, "but I think you should do a better job of censoring what goes into those articles." The union committee responded by informing "Mr. Johnson that a strike was a trying ordeal and that some of this was to be expected;" moreover, "as long as our difference are being adjusted satisfactorily, undoubtedly, there will be no need for much of this type of publicity and would be discontinued."[84]

There were also editorial differences between the two newspapers before the strike began. Although neither editorialized on the Gisholt negotiations before the strike, their views diverged on the President's "fact-finding" board. Truman, who had resorted to seizing some striking industries, wanted to avoid such drastic solutions and sought to solve labor disputes by appointing independent boards to review the facts of any labor dispute to help determine fair settlements. The Journal opposed fact-finding in an editorial that appeared on 8 January. Any decision made by a supposedly neutral board would actually be politicized, the editorial asserted, because no one would want to trounce on toes of the voting laborers. Moreover, "it will be decision and dictum, reached not collectively by union and management, but by an entirely foreign group of men who may know nothing of the business and its needs for either present or future."[85] The Capital Times, on the other hand, supported the use of fact-finding boards. "As labor and wealth battle each other the public interest is forgotten," editor Evjue said in a speech covered by his newspaper. "A better way to settle industrial disputes must be find. The only way to do this is through arbitration and fact-finding boards."[86]

Press Coverage of the Strike

Despite these differences, when it came to news coverage of the strike itself, both newspapers time and again returned to the issue of order and harmony. "A rumor that there had been violence along the picket line," the State Journal reported, "was spiked by [local president William] Slightam, who said he had sent a union executive from union headquarters to check the rumor and had found that 'there's nothing to it.'"[87] In its coverage of a second parade by the strikers, the Journal noted that the parade had a police escort, "was carried out in orderly fashion," and included one Gisholt employee "carrying his young blue-coated daughter as well as a poster announcing, 'My Daddy Needs an $18^1/_2$ Cent Raise.'"[88] A later story explained that the strikers "continued to surround the sprawling buildings but no violence had been reported since production halted a week ago," adding that "pickets have been given coffee and sandwiches after each four-hour shift."[89]

The Capital Times was as emphatic about calm and order as the State Journal. In the paper's first story about the strike, Cedric Parker's third paragraph noted that "no trouble is anticipated, because the company has agreed with the union that no production work will be attempted while the strike is in progress."[90] The paper's story about the parade, like the Journal's, noted that the marchers had a police escort and that one of the pickets had brought his young daughter. "Marchers exchanged greetings with acquaintances among the onlookers, but otherwise the processional was undemonstrative," the Times reported.[91]

Much as Mayor "Kraege emphasized that he had not entered the Gisholt dispute to decide the issues, but only to get the union and company together again to resume negotiations,"[92] both newspapers tended to avoid editorializing on the merits of either side's case in favor of supporting an end to the strike. As with news coverage the Capital Times devoted more editorial space to the strike than the Journal, although it ran just two editorials. The liberal paper criticized the President's new wage-price policy for bringing "the country dangerously close to a wild whirl with inflation."[93] It suggested that the Gisholt workers would bear the hardship caused by the strike because the company had a "nice cushion of war profits" and would be able to take advantage of tax rebates to cover the cost of the strike. But even an accusatory remark like that was prefaced with, "We have been fortunate in being free of bitter industrial warfare in the past and it is to be hoped that both sides will continue to use the same sensible and moderate attitude they have displayed thus far in the present dispute."[94] Instead of editorializing on the strike, the State Journal ran a series of opinion pieces on the housing shortage that left university students and returning veterans without permanent shelter in the middle of the freezing Wisconsin winter. "It's Sinful," the Journal said, that more people were not renting rooms to people who were "Still Cold."[95] Both papers cheered the role of the city's mayor, who jump-started negotiations after the two sides had stopped meeting. "Good Work, Mayor Kraege!" the Times enthused on 28 February. "Let us hope that the mayor's good work will not be in vain and that the parties to the dispute will reach a common ground of agreement so that the strike might come to an early end under conditions that will be fair to all." The Journal put aside its political differences and reprinted the rival paper's editorial on 1 March (the only editorial coverage it provided).[96] More than favoring labor or management, both papers supported a resolution.

The liveliest debate about the strike wave appeared not in editorial columns but in letters to the editor which usually opposed the strikes. A "White-collar Consumer" from Madison wrote to the State Journal about the national strike, complaining that "as a mere consumer, eventually I pay labor's wages. Higher wages sound to me like higher-priced autos, washing machines and shirts."[97] Another Journal reader commented that "strikes hurt everybody," suggesting "just legislation and enforcement are the only public safeguards against the tyranny of groups powerful enough to block production and service in defiance of public opinion and welfare."[98] Even readers of the pro-labor Capital Times, such as "An Ex-GI," wrote that "the people who are now striking all over the U. S. will find out in the end that they'd be far better off had they stayed on the job," arguing "give them a fair chance and the capitalists will pay fair wages."[99]

Such objections were handled by the union in another letter to the editor. "A Family Man Trying to 'Get-Along'" wrote to the Capital Times to complain that "the general public does not fully understand or realize the full significance of the labor-management controversy." After explaining that the company was saving "$16^1/_4$ cents per hour per man" by cutting the fifty-hour work week to forty hours, "A Family Man" asked why the company could not afford a $2 per day wage increase—"an actual cost to the company of $.08^3/_4$ cents [sic] per hour." "Do you, Mr. General Public, still feel our demands are so outrageous?" he asked. "Would you, or could you get along on a wage cut amounting to $60 a month or more?"[100]

Community History, Community Structure, and Coverage of the Strike

One explanation for the newspapers' reactions might be community structure. Some scholars suggest that the relative level of community diversity helps to determine how a newspaper portrays conflict within the community. In pluralistic communities, those which are very diverse, conflicts cannot be managed at the interpersonal level, so mass media draw attention to conflict by reporting on all the communication between community leaders and interest groups. In less pluralistic communities, generally smaller towns, leaders and interest groups can communicate on an interpersonal level, so the news media tend to avoid reporting on conflict. For example, one study found that reliance on local manufacturing combined with community pluralism influenced whether and how local newspapers covered a report on industrial release of toxic substances into the environment. Publication of the report's findings was most likely in communities with moderate reliance on manufacturing.[101]

In this case the city was not at all dependent on the manufacturing plant, even though it was the largest industrial employer. Many more citizens were associated with the university and the state government. The negotiations could be handled on a face-to-face basis, but the union and the community were too large for all communication to be handled interpersonally. Based on community structure theory, one would therefore expect newspaper coverage to be extensive. The need to please a wide range of readers also cannot explain the newspapers' responses to the strike. Although the State Journal's readers—including people like the Johnsons—might have been unsympathetic toward labor, people who read the Capital Times knew long before the Gisholt strike where it stood on the issue of labor-management relations. Why then would both papers dwell to such a great extent on order and moderation in their stories, editorials, and headlines? And why did they not champion either side's cause on the merits of the cases each presented?

Even more than community structure, community history seems to explain the newspaper coverage. While Chicago, and to a lesser extent Milwaukee, both located within easy driving distance, experienced major labor upheaval during the 1930s, Madison had escaped unscathed. The "Memorial Day massacre," when 10 steelworkers were killed and scores more injured, took place at Republic Steel's plant in Chicago in 1937,[102] the year Gisholt peacefully recognized Local 1404. One of the city's newspapers noted that during the nine years that 1404 had been designated the bargaining agency for the plants workers, relations had been so cordial that "they contributed a great deal to Madison's fame as a 'labor-proof' city."[103] Perhaps the Wisconsin city's residents feared the other shoe was about to drop. While political and ideological disagreements were perfectly acceptable before the strike, even the threat of violence—which had recently been so real in nearby areas—in Madison led not just journalists but everyone to overreact.

It was not only newspapers that sought to contain the community conflict caused by organized labor's demands in what must have been the friendliest strike of 1946. Not only did the company agree to close the plant, but the union agreed to let office and maintenance workers or anyone who had been issued a pass from management through the picket line and that, "should an electrical cable break or a water main or pipe burst, or some similar emergency occur," it would "provide the necessary men to repair the damage."[104] Even the Dane County Industrial Union Council, one of whose constituents was Local 1404, placed community solidarity first. In its statement supporting the Gisholt strike, the IUC "praised the strikers for their 'orderly manner' and 'extreme patience.'"[105] The Dane IUC also refused to help organize the city's Oscar Mayer plant for the CIO's United Packinghouse Workers of America, because it was already organized by the rival coalition of unions, the American Federation of Labor. AFL-affiliated building craftsmen had ceased work on a new office building under construction at Gisholt because the CIO workers had walked out. Explaining the IUC's reasoning, the group's president wrote to Philip Murray, "This is the type of cooperation which we need and appreciate." Packinghouse organizers considered it misplaced loyalty.[106]

Although newspaper coverage reflected national events, local and national public relations activities, and the political and ideological stances of the newspapers, community factors were far more important in how the papers treated the conflict. The generally cooperative relationship between Gisholt labor and management, the proximity of the city to past labor violence, and the community's inexperience with strikes led not only the newspapers but even the company and the union to prize community safety and unity in the face of conflict.

---

[1] "1,100 Strike, Halt Gisholt Production," Wisconsin State Journal, February 21, 1946, 1; "335 Striking Gisholt Men Stage Parade," Capital Times, February 23, 1946, 1, 2.

[2] Robert H. Zieger, American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 75.

[3] For a complete review, see Nelson Lichtenstein, Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[4] American Iron and Steel Institute, "Steel's War Record," June 1944, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.; David J. McDonald, Report to the Delegates, Proceedings of the Third Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, Atlantic City, N.J., 14-18 May 1946.

[5] James Green, "Fighting on Two Fronts: Working-Class Militancy In the 1940's," Radical America 9 (July/August 1975), 20.

[6] See especially David Brody, Labor in Crisis: The Steel Strike of 1919 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1965).

[7] "Why Industry Says 'NO' to Labor," Economic Outlook 7 (January 1946), 1 (copy in the Murray papers, Box 21).

[8] Robert Asher, "Painful Memories: The Historical Consciousness of Steelworkers and the Steel Strike of 1919," Pennsylvania History 45 (January 1978), 62.

[9] Opinion Research Corporation survey, May 1946, John W. Hill papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (hereafter SHSW), Madison, Wis., Box 70, Folder 8.

[10] Opinion Research Corporation survey, March 1944, Hill papers, Box 70, Folder 8.

[11] Green, 30-1.

[12] "Losses Created by Strike Computed," Steel Facts No. 76 (March 1946), 1.

[13] Benjamin F. Fairless to John W. Snyder, 13 November 1945, Harry S. Truman papers, Harry S. Truman Library (hereafter HSTL), Independence, Mo., OF 1025, 342. see also J.A. Voss (Republic Steel) to Philip Murray, 31 October 1945, Philip Murray papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., Box 26.

[14] Press and Radio Conference of Charles Ross, 18 January 1946, Charles G. Ross papers, HSTL, Box 9, Press Conferences, Jan.-Mar. 1946.

[15] "Statement Adopted by the International Wage Policy Committee," 25 January 1946, United Steelworkers of America, Local 1404 papers (hereafter USWA-Madison), SHSW, Box 16, Folder 5.

[16] Bureau of Labor Statistics Report No. 206, "Work Stoppages: Basic Steel Industry, 1901-60," American Iron and Steel Institute papers, Hagley Museum and Library, Box 67,

---

Industrial Relations—Strikes (1); David McDullough, Truman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 481.

[17] David J. McDonald to local unions, 25 January 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 16, Folder 5.

[18] Script for 21 January 1946, H. V. Kaltenborn papers, SHSW, Box 177.

[19] 49 Stat. 449 (1935); Orme W. Phelps and John E. Jeuck, "Criticisms of the National Labor Relations Act," Journal of Business 12 (January 1939).

[20] Herman E. Krooss, Executive Opinion: What Business Leaders Said and Thought on Economic Issues, 1920s-1960s (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 210.

[21] Barton J. Bernstein, "The Removal of War Production Board Controls on Business, 1944-1946," Business History Review 39 (Summer 1965), 244; Barton J. Bernstein, "The Truman Administration and the Steel Strike of 1946," Journal of American History 52 (March 1966), 794-5. Steel executives repeatedly denied that they were trying to break the union; see for example, text of radio address by Benjamin F. Fairless, 23 January 1946, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library.

[22] Charles M. White, "Democracy for All," May 1946, AISI papers, Box 122, Speeches—Republic; Francis X. Sutton, Seymour E. Harris, Carl Kaysen and James Tobin, The American Business Creed (New York: Simon and Schocken Books, 1962), 185-6.

[23] Marquis Childs, "Suspicion Grows," Wisconsin State Journal, February 2, 1946, 4.

[24] Executive Order 9697 authorized the price increase.

[25] Press Conference of Pres. Truman, 15 February 1946, Public Papers of the President: Harry S. Truman, 1945 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961); Press and Radio Conference of Charles Ross, 14 February 1946, Ross papers, Box 9, Press Conferences, Jan.-Mar. 1946.

[26] Charles M. White, "Democracy for All," May 1946, AISI papers, Box 122, Speeches—Republic.

[27] "Steel Fabricators Sign," Business Week, February 16, 1946, 96.

[28] "Welcome to Gisholt Machine Co.," n.d., John C. Sammis papers, SHSW, Box 1, Folder 30. "Gisholt" is a Norwegian word meaning Sunny Woods, which described the location of the Johnson homestead in Norway. "A Brief History of the Gisholt Machine Company," George Hopkins Johnson papers, SHSW, Box 3, Folder 7; Biography of G. H. Johnson, Johnson papers, Box 1.

[29] Wisconsin Manufacturing Association, "Industry," in Wisconsin Federation of Labor, Wisconsin Labor Official Annual Publication, 1946 edition, 32.

---

[30] United Steelworkers of America-CIO, Audit Report, July 1 to December 31, 1945, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 3, 59-60.

[31] Joel Seidman, Jack London, and Bernard Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," American Journal of Sociology 56 (November 1950), 229.

[32] For example, "the most hated public figure in the United States" in 1943 was president of the coal miners' union and former head of the CIO, John L. Lewis. See Richard Polenberg, War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972), 165.

[33] Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), vii, 7.

[34] "Industry's Public Relations Job," Conference Board Business Record 2 (March 1945), 75. Half of those surveyed ranked employees the most important with another seventeen percent putting them second in importance.

[35] Local No. 1404 to H. Stanley Johnson, 20 February 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

[36] Cedric Parker, "1,800 At Gisholt Co. to Strike Week After U.S. Walkout, If One Occurs," Capital Times, January 11, 1946, 1.

[37] George H. Johnson to the Employees, 25 January 1946, USWA-Madison, Box 17, Folder 7. Annual Report for 1946, Johnson papers, Box 4, Folder 7.

[38] Employers in the 1940s frequently viewed industrial relations as referring to their own employees, not industry overall. E. Wight Bakke, Mutual Survival: The Goal of Unions and Management, 2nd. ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966), 3.

[39] Notes from meeting with Gisholt management, 21 January 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[40] Notes from meeting with Gisholt management, 19 February 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[41] Text of radio interview of Ernest T. Weir, 7 January 1946, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library.

[42] Notes from meeting with Gisholt management, 18 February 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[43] "Union Raps Gisholt Reply," Wisconsin State Journal, February 24, 1946, 1.

[44] "Mayor Kraege Meets With Gisholt Lawyer," Wisconsin State Journal, February 26, 1946, 5.

---

[45] Gisholt Annual Report for 1946, Johnson papers, Box 4, Folder 7; Notes from Special Union Meeting, 19 March 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 4; Minutes from Special Union Meeting, 19 March 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 20, Folder 2.

[46] George H. Johnson to Employees, 3 October 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 17, Folder 7.

[47] See the "Confidential Report to Member Companies of the American Iron and Steel Institute," 15 December 1945, Hill papers, Box 58, Folder 11.

[48] Jules Backman, "Wages and Prices Go Together," Steelways 1 (January 1946), 6.

[49] J.A. Voss (Republic Steel) to Philip Murray, 31 October 1945, Murray papers, Box 26.

[50] Bradford B. Smith, "The Forgotten Man in the Steel Strike," 30 January 1946, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library.

[51] Text of radio address of Benjamin F. Fairless, 23 January 1946, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library.

[52] Charles M. White, "Democracy for All," May 1946, AISI papers, Box 122, Speeches—Republic.

[53] Lee Pressman to Philip Murray, 11 December 1945, Murray papers, Box 22.

[54] "Steel Pact OK's Right to Strike," CIO News 8 (24 December 1945), 2.

[55] Ira D. Goss to Philip Murray, 31 January 1946, Murray papers, Box 22, Correpondence—Strike File #1.

[56] Robert H. Ferrell, ed. Truman in the White House: The Diary of Eben A. Ayers (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 122.

[57] "A Trophy for the CIO," Business Week, April 20, 1946, 90.

[58] David J. McDonald to local unions, 17 January 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 16, Folder 5.

[59] David J. McDonald to local unions, 26 December 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 16, Folder 5.

[60] Report of the Publicity Department, Proceedings of the Third Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, Atlantic City, N.J., 14-18 May 1946. Along with Steel Labor, this included copies of Murray's speeches and booklets such as "Five Year of War Profits."

[61] Vincent D. Sweeney, The United Steelworkers of America: Twenty Years Later, 1936-1956 (n.p.: United Steelworkers of America, 1956), 63; "Statement Adopted by the International Wage Policy Committee," 25 January 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 16, Folder 5.

[62] "CIO Study Warns: Up Pay or Face Crash," CIO News 9 (19 November 1945), 1.

---

[63] Text of radio address by Philip Murray, 21 January 1946, Murray papers, Box 26.

[64] Script for 22 January 1946, Kaltenborn papers, Box 177.

[65] Text of radio address by Benjamin F. Fairless, 23 January 1946, pamphlet at Hagley Museum and Library.

[66] Minutes from Special Executive Board Meetings, 20 February 1946 and 25 February 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 3; Notes from meeting with Gisholt management, 21 January 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 5. See also releases in Box 18, Folder 6.

[67] "The Labor-Management Controversy," Capital Times, February 14, 1946, 22; "Gisholt Union Raps Becker's Strike Views," Capital Times, February 16, 1946, 1; Minutes of Executives Board, 27 February 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

[68] Notes from Steward's Meeting, 11 November 1945, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 4.

[69] For a detailed explanation of the union's position, see the letter to the editor discussed below. "The Labor-Management Controversy," Capital Times, February 14, 1946, 22.

[70] "Workers Reject Gisholt's Offer," Wisconsin State Journal, March 5, 1946, 1.

[71] Cedric Parker, "Take Steps to Reopen Talks At Gisholt," Capital Times, February 24, 1946.

[72] See speeches and press releases written by H&K for Johnson in 1942 and 1945, Johnson papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[73] Text of speech from 12 January 1944, Johnson papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[74] Gisholt ads in the Wisconsin State Journal: "To Gisholt Employees," February 22, 1946, 7; "Who Wants to End the Strike at Gisholt?" March 3, 1946, 13; "To the Members of Local 1404 U.S.A.-C.I.O.," March 18, 1946, 7.

[75] "Organized Labor Replies to Capital Times Charge of 'Inertia' Among Unions," Capital Times, February 6, 1946, 9.

[76] Script for 14 January 1946, Raymond Gram Swing papers, SHSW, Box 2.

[77] Scripts for 24 and 30 January 1946, Kaltenborn papers, Box 177.

[78] See for example, "Is This a 'Scrap of Paper'?" in the Wisconsin State Journal, January 25, 1946, 7, and in the Capital Times, January 24, 1946, 7.

[79] "U.S. Steel Contract to Set Wage Pattern for Industry," Wisconsin State Journal, February 16, 1946, 1.

[80] "1,100 at Gisholt May Walkout at Midnight," Wisconsin State Journal, February 20, 1946, 1.

---

[81] Cedric Parker, "1,800 At Gisholt Co. to Strike Week After U.S. Walkout, If One Occurs," Capital Times, January 11, 1946, 1. An editorial during the strike also tied the local events to the national ones. "The case illustrates the need of an impartial, third-party, fact finding comission," the editorial said. "If we had had official fact-finding machinery to determine the essential points of dispute, the strike need never have occurred." "The Implications of the Gisholt Strike," Capital Times, February 24, 1946, 32.

[82] "Gisholt Offers New Plan For Wage Boosts," Capital Times, January 25, 1946, 1; "Gisholt Offers Hourly Boost Up to $18^{1}/_{2}$ Cents," Wisconsin State Journal, January 25, 1946, 1; "Union Rejects Gisholt Offer on Pay Boost," Wisconsin State Journal, January 28, 1946, 1; "Latest Gisholt Wage Offer Is Turned Down," Capital Times, January 28, 1946, 1.

[83] "Gisholt Union Raps Becker's Strike Views," Capital Times, February 16, 1946, 1.

[84] Notes from meeting with Gisholt management, 25 March 1946, USWA-Madison papers, Box 1, Folder 5.

[85] "Who Wants What?" Wisconsin State Journal, January 8, 1946, 6.

[86] "Evjue Points Way to End of Industry Strife," Capital Times, March 7, 1946, 2. See also the editorial, "The Implications of the Gisholt Strike," Capital Times, February 24, 1946, 32.

[87] "1,100 Strike, Halt Gisholt Production," Wisconsin State Journal, February 21, 1946, 1.

[88] "Gisholt Strikers Parade Again," Wisconsin State Journal, February 23, 1946, 2.

[89] "Gisholt Workers Eye Offer," Wisconsin State Journal, February 28, 1946, 1.

[90] Cedric Parker, "Gisholt Workers' Strike Closes Plant as Negotiations Collapse," Capital Times, February 21, 1946, 1.

[91] "335 Striking Gisholt Men Stage Parade," Capital Times, February 23, 1946, 1.

[92] "Wait Gisholt Word on New Strike Talks," Capital Times, February 25, 1946, 1, 4.

[93] "The New Wage-Price Policy Brings Us to The Brink of Inflation," Capital Times, February 17, 1946, 30.

[94] "The Implications of the Gisholt Strike," Capital Times, February 24, 1946, 32.

[95] "It's Sinful," Wisconsin State Journal, January 19, 1946, 6; "Still Cold," January 21, 1946, 6.

[96] "Good Work, Mayor Kraege!" Capital Times, February 28, 1946, 24; and Wisconsin State Journal, March 1, 1946, 6.

[97] "Bunk and Propaganda!" Wisconsin State Journal, February 1, 1946, 6.

[98] "What Is Anti-Labor," Wisconsin State Journal, February 16, 1946, 4.

---

[99] "Agrees With Critic of Labor," Capital Times, January 23, 1946, 16.

[100] "The Labor-Management Controversy," Capital Times, February 14, 1946, 22.

[101] Robert J. Griffin and Sharon Dunwoody, "Impacts of Information Subsidies and Community Structure on Local Press Coverage of Environmental Contamination," paper presented to the International Communication Association annual convention, Washington, D.C., May 1993; see also, Phillip J. Tichenor, George A. Donohue, and Clarice N. Olien, Community Conflict and the Press (Beverly Hills, Cal.: Sage, 1980).

[102] For a full description see Donald G. Sofchalk, "The Chicago Memorial Day Incident: An Episode of Mass Action," Labor History 6 (Winter 1965).

[103] "Walkout Is Biggest in City History," Wisconsin State Journal, February 22, 1946, 1.

[104] "335 Striking Gisholt Men Stage Parade," Capital Times, February 23, 1946, 1.

[105] "10 Cents All We Can Afford, Gisholt Says," Wisconsin State Journal, February 22, 1946, 2.

[106] Peter C. Lynaugh and Ray V. Hanson to Philip Murray, 28 February 1946 and Lewis J. Clark to Philip Murray, 12 March 1946, Congress of Industrial Organizations papers, Catholic University, Local IU Councils/Wisconsin, Box 21, Dane County.

CS

The Ladies Companion, 1834-1844: A Magazine of "Polite" Literature

by

Paul Belgrade
Associate Professor

Department of English
Millersville University
Millersville, PA 17551
Office:717/872-3229
Home: 717/295/3150
e-mail:ps_belgrade@daffy.millersv.edu

A Paper submitted to the
American Journalism Historians Association
for consideration at the 1994 annual meeting
in Roanoke, Virginia
Ocober 6-8, 1994

Abstract

The Ladies Companion, 1834-1844: A Magazine of "Polite" Literature

During the period between 1830-1850 in the United States, the model for large-circulation commercial magazines for women was established that would dominate the market for respectable women's magazines until the present. One of these magazine--*The Ladies' Companion*--exemplifies this model meticulously, although it has received less attention from historians than the others. Published in New York City, *The Ladies' Companion* became one of the leading women's magazines in the nation during this period along with the *Ladies Magazine* of Boston and *Godey's Ladies Book* and *Graham's Magazine* of Philadelphia.

The *Companion* reflected the expanded role women had assumed in society, but also downplayed the importance of real political and economic power for women. The magazine did little to encourage literary growth and experimentation by women authors. Contributors were encouraged to produce the same sentimental, uplifting poetry and prose, usually with happy endings, that did little to either improve their own literary skills or to portray women in anything but conventional and traditional roles.

On the other hand, the magazine recognized the importance of women as arbiters of taste in literary matters and in matters of fashion, and the handsome payments the *Companion* offered its contributors helped to establish a new professional class composed of women authors. Magazines like the *Companion* not only convinced the industry that women's magazines attuned to popular tastes could profitably capture a mass audience but also helped to create and develop that audience.

The Ladies Companion, 1834-1844: A Magazine of "Polite" Literature

One of the subtitles used by *The Ladies' Companion* during its decade of existence (1834-1844) is indicative of the magazine's grandiose style and the ambitions of William W. Snowden, its publisher: *A Monthly Magazine Embracing Every Department of Literature, Embellished with Original Engravings and Music Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp, and Guitar*. Published in New York, *The Ladies' Companion* became one of the leading women's magazines in the nation during this period along with the *Ladies Magazine* of Boston and *Godey's Ladies Book* and *Graham's Magazine* of Philadelphia. The magazine was typical of similar magazines of its time, featuring mainly "polite" literature.

Snowden's main goal was to provide entertainment for his readers and, thereby, gain new subscribers. By rewarding his contributors generously, he attracted the leading popular writers of the day including Emma C. Embury, Sara J. Hale, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Edgar Allen Poe,[1] Ann S. Stephens, Lydia H. Sigourney, and Nathaniel Willis.[2] Snowden's reputation for paying contributors well and promptly was a trait which helped to attract these writers.[3] However, his devotion to boosting the *Companion's* circulation caused conflict with some of these same contributors who resented Snowden's preference for popular features over spiritually uplifting verse and fiction.

Correspondence between two popular women writers who contributed to the *Companion* and also were listed as editors for the magazine is indicative of the mixed feelings some contributors had for the magazine as well as for Snowden himself. Emma C. Embury, who contributed many stories, sketches, and poems to contemporary periodicals and Lydia H. Sigourney, perhaps the most popular versifier of the time, were distressed with the magazine's moral tenor. In one letter to Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Embury agreed with Mrs. Sigourney's concerns about the magazine. She wrote, "That its tone ought to be and might be greatly elevated is most certain."[4] In another letter Mrs. Embury wrote to Mrs. Sigourney about the "absolute necessity of our assuming the power of selection"[5] for material in the magazine.

However, Snowden seems to have ignored entreaties from both ladies, whose names he listed as editors to give the magazine prestige and respectability but from whom he allowed no editorial input. Mrs. Embury's discouraged, somewhat bitter response to Mrs. Sigourney' complaints in a later letter is revealing of Snowden's attitude toward his "editors" and, perhaps, women in general: "I think he seems unwilling to accept any suggestions from us. . . . I think he regards them as woman's whims, to which his politeness allows him to listen, while his superior discretion can find nothing in them worthy even to be disputed, far less to be adopted." [6]

Of all the contributors who wrote for the *Companion*, Anne S. Stephens may have been the most influential. Mrs. Stephens had edited another women's magazine, *The Portland Magazine*, from 1834-1836,[7] and was hired by Snowden soon after her family moved to New York City in 1837. She contributed many poems, essays, stories and at least two long serialized stories to the magazine. These serialized stories, sentimental romances that included Indian characters and described Indian life with some detail and accuracy, had the greatest impact on the public.

The first story, "Mary Derwent: A Tale of the Early Settlers" was serialized beginning with the May 1838 issue as winner of a $200 story competition the magazine had advertised and was accompanied by an obtuse explanation of why the magazine had awarded the prize to a staff member, since Mrs Stephens was now listed as one of the magazine's editors.[8] The story, set in Pennsylvania in the Wyoming Valley of the Susquehanna River, tells the story of Lady Gordon, an English noblewoman, who becomes the "White Indian Queen" of the Mohawk Indians. We follow Lady Gordon's adventures, which include a number of plot twists and several incredible coincidences, until she is killed in a massacre during the Revolutionary War.

The story was reprinted in 1840 in the May-August issues. In an editor's note that accompanies its second appearance in May 1840, we get an inkling of Mrs. Stephens importance to the magazine's popularity. The note announces: ". . . at the time of its former publication, there were only four thousand, five hundred copies issued; now 'The Ladies' Companion,' has a circulation of seventeen thousand."[9] Another one of Mrs. Stephens' Indian story's, "Malaeska," which was serialized in three parts from February-April 1839 in the *Companion,* earned a significant place in literary history. The story was reprinted in 1860 as the first Beadle Dime Novel, which became a hugely popular series of paperback melodramas. Malaeska:the Indian Wife of The White Hunter sold 300,000 copies as Beadle's Dime Novel Number 1.[10]

The Ladies' Companion contained little obvious advertising in keeping with Snowden's desire to create a refined and tasteful image for the magazine, although the *Companion* did list a rate of ten cents per line for advertising on its cover in 1838.[11] A close examination of the magazine's "Editor's Table," reveals some items that seem to be paid advertising, although they appear no different typographically from other informational items in the table. One such item praises the work of a New York carriage maker declaring, "The extreme luxury of life appears to be centered here in this species of elegant convenience." However, the item also contains an apology for including it at all saying that, as a rule, the magazine does not "pass beyond the province of polite literature" to include "remarks upon Mechanical productions."[12]

Like the other commercial women's magazines of the day, the *Companion* and its contributors emphasized tractional roles for women rather than stressing reform or championing women's rights. These contributors, both men and women, seemed to go out of their way to portray women as spiritual creatures devoted completely to home and family. Still, the magazine reflected recent societal changes in which women had begun to take leadership positions in morals, to participate in the nation's literary life, and to function as arbiters of fashion. The magazine prided itself as a cultural repository and did not include material devoted to practical domestic matters, filling most of its pages with romantic or spiritually uplifting poetry and prose.

Stories were almost always melodramatic and contained a strong romantic interest. Stories typical of the type appeared in a regular feature titled "Our Library" which was written by Mrs. Embury. One such story, "The Manuscript of Father Aubertius,"[13] concerns Mrs. Embury's alleged discovery of a scroll hidden in the frame of a portrait of a religious painting that purports to reveal the secret life of a prominent bishop who lived during the middle ages. The story begins with the title character, Father Aubertius, marrying and then abandoning a wife, then follows his ascendancy to bishop after a ruthless career, and ends with his inadvertent execution of a young priest whom he discovers, to his sorrow, was really his only son.

This story displays many of the characteristics common to the fiction in *The Ladies' Companion*, although it does not have the usual happy ending: an exotic setting, complex romantic entanglements and plot twists, scandalous behavior, and amazing coincidences. Perhaps, most typically, the story seems to be striving more to be popular and entertaining than morally uplifting. Although the story pays respect to conventional morality, it is not preachy. Rather, the moral lessons seem to function as a veneer that allows the author to maintain respectability while presenting as spicy, suspenseful, and exciting a plot as possible.

The poetry published in the magazine more often emphasized spiritual themes, although the accent on sentimentality and even romance in the verse was equally pervasive. A poem by Mrs. Sigourney can serve as a typical illustration of both characteristics. The poem, "The Sacred Minstrel," recounts how Saul, The King of Israel, finds himself troubled and melancholy until his minstrel boy begins to sing to him about God and nature, which changes his mood. The poem ends with an entreaty to readers to follow Saul's example and turn to music when they "feel the poison fumes/ of earth's fermenting care." [14]

However, the magazine often included romantic and even sexual appeals in its verse, further evidence of Snowden's understanding of his reader's popular tastes. On the first page of the same issue where Mrs. Sigourney's poem appears, an engraving of a beautiful young woman in a rather low-cut gown is followed by a poem, "The Star of Love," that sedately but emphatically calls attention to both the woman's purity and her romantic charms.

Although a majority of the magazine's editorial content was devoted to "polite" fiction and poetry, the "Star of Love" engraving represented an example of one of the many other features in the magazine. The magazine itself often touted its engravings and at least one plate and sometimes two appeared in every issue. The plates were usually illustrations of a poem or story, illustrations of a landscape of a well-known city or scene accompanied by a prose description of the place, or fashion plates that usually focused on seasonal clothing. The plates are high quality engravings, clear and meticulously detailed, and Snowden frequently boasted that he used all new plates rather than reusing worn engravings from other magazines.[15]

The magazine also included a number of other features in most issues, including accounts of travel and adventure, biographies, brief historical features, reviews of books, plays, and art works, and miscellaneous items that appeared each month in the feature called "Editors Table." These items focused on current events, mainly cultural, obituaries, weather, and hyperbolic puff pieces about the magazine, often containing descriptions of special features planned for future issues, pleas to readers to pay their subscriptions, or calls for support from readers to aid the magazines with problems such as high postal rates.

In fact, the reviews of plays contained in a monthly section titled, "Theatricals," was partly the cause of the disapproval Mrs. Embury and Mrs. Sigourney expressed to Snowden about the magazine's tone. Neither woman wanted her name associated with theatrical productions of popular plays of dubious morality.
In Mrs. Embury's letter of March 23, 1843 to Mrs. Sigourney, she expressed both her hope that Snowden would "omit the theatrical reviews" and her understanding of his pecuniary nature with the observation that such a omission would only happen if Snowden

received "the assurance from you that their insertion injures the circulation of the Companion in New England."[16] Snowden's enthusiasm for the "Theatricals" may have been related to the fact that he had a financial interest in New York's Bowery Theater whose productions were given rave reviews in every issue of the *Companion*.[17]

In the same letter, Mrs. Embury also revealed Snowden's steadfast commitment to the popular fiction he favored for the magazine when she complained about his lack of enthusiasm for the preambles to her stories which were intended to convey her "moral sentiments" to readers. "Mr. Snowden," she wrote, "gave me to understand that he much preferred the more practical and popular tales."[18] Despite their concerns about the magazine's moral standards, both Mrs. Embury and Mrs. Sigourney allowed themselves to be listed as editors of the *Companion* until a particularly scandalous incident rocked the literary community and threatened Snowden and the continued existence of the *Companion*.

In the September and November 1842 issues of the *Companion*, Snowden attacked Park Benjamin, calling Benjamin "a literary hedge-hog" and "literary reptile." Snowden had published a poem written by Benjamin in the *Companion* just two years earlier,[19] but Benjamin had since become the rival editor of the *New World*. These attacks had serious implications for the *Companion's* contributors and editors who were loath to be associated with the attack. Both Mrs. Embury and Mrs. Sigourney deplored the incident and worried about its effect on their good names, and

Mrs. Sigourney wrote a public apology to Benjamin, at his insistence,[20] which was published in the *New World*.[21]

Among Mrs. Sigourney's papers is a manuscript written on unlined paper in her absolutely straight, nearly calligraphic script. At the top of the manuscript, titled "The Geranium Plant," a prose piece about the power of flowers to awaken memory, appears Mrs. Sigourney's note: "'Ladies' Companion' June 3, 1843. Used, with the exception of the first two pages."[22] So Mrs. Sigourney, at least, continued to contribute to the *Companion* after the incident, although her name disappeared from the magazine as an editor. However, within a year, Snowden had sold the *Companion* "to a company of gentlemen."[23] The magazine continued publication for only six months under the new owners. The last issue appeared in October 1844.[24]

The Ladies' Companion represents a model of the successful women's magazines of the period. Typically it portrayed the expanded role women had assumed in society, but also downplayed the importance of real political and economic power for women. The magazine recognized the importance of women as arbiters of taste in literary matters and in matters of fashion. Most importantly, the handsome payments Snowden offered his contributors helped to establish a new professional class composed of women authors, a class whose work has been admired, respected, and rewarded throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

On the other hand, the magazine did little to encourage literary growth and experimentation by women authors. Contributors were encouraged to produce the same sentimental, uplifting poetry and prose, usually with happy endings, that did little to either improve their own literary skills or to portray women in anything but conventional and traditional roles. One essay in the magazine, while maintaining that it is good for a woman to become educated, argued that "woman should find the proper exercise of her faculties far retired from the busy highways of Ambition [where] she should wander in the shady, green lanes of domestic life."[25] In fact, the magazine and its contributors were apologists for a social order that ensured that its subscribers, devoted as they were to "domestic life," would continue to demand the conventional literature, music, and engravings that its creators had become so adept at producing.

Perhaps, the *Companion* and its contemporaries' greatest influence on the U.S. magazine industry was to create the model for general circulation, monthly women's magazines that existed for the next century and a half. Magazines like the *Companion* not only convinced the industry that women's magazines attuned to popular tastes could profitably capture a mass audience but also helped to create and develop that audience.

NOTES

1. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 627.

2. Ann D. Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," *American Quarterly* 23 (spring 1971): 16.

3. Gordon S. Haight, *Mrs. Sigourney: The Sweet Singer of Harford* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1930), 113.

4. Letter from Emma C. Embury to Mrs. Sigourney, April 18, 1843, Lydia H. Sigourney Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society.

5. Letter from Mrs. Embury to Mrs. Sigourney, July 14, 1843. Lydia H. Sigourney Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society.

6.Letter from Mrs. Embury to Mrs. Sigourney, July 14, 1843,

7.Caroline Garnsey, "Ladies' Magazines to 1850," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 58 (Feb. 1954): 74.

8. Madeleine B. Stern, "Anne S. Stephens: Author of the First Beadle Dime Novel," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 64 (June 1960): 306-307.

9. "$200 Prize Article," *The Ladies' Companion*, May 1840, 18.

10. Stern, 163.

11. Garnsey, 82.

12."Editor's Table," *The Ladies' Companion*, October 1840, 308.

13. Emma C. Embury, "Our Library," *The Ladies' Companion*, May 1840, 26-33.

14. Lydia H. Sigourney, "The Sacred Minstrel," *The Ladies' Companion*, October 1840, 261.

15. Mott, 628.

16. Mrs. Embury to Mrs. Sigourney, March 24, 1843, Lydia H. Sigourney Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society.

17. Haight, 114.

18. Mrs. Embury to Mrs. Sigourney, March 24, 1843.

19. Park Benjamin, "To A Boy," *The Ladies' Companion*, August 1840, 162.

20. Letter from Park Benjamin to Mrs. Sigourney, May 8, 1843, Lydia H. Sigourney Collection, Connecticut Historical Society.

21. Haight, 117.

22. Lydia S. Sigourney, "The Geranium Plant," Lydia H. Sigourney Collection, Connecticut Historical Society.

23. Mott, 628.

24. Garnsey, 88.

25. "Influence of Woman--Past and Present," *The Ladies' Companion*, Sept. 1840, 245.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELLIOUS NEGROES: NEWS OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS AND CRIMES IN COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS

by

David A. Copeland

Doctoral Candidate
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
CB 3365, Howell Hall
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

421 Woodland Avenue
Wake Forest, NC 27587
919-556-2380

Presented to the American Journalism Historians Association
in Consideration for Presentation at its 1994 Annual Convention

CS

ABSTRACT

Title: "The Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes": News of Slave Insurrections and Crimes in Colonial Newspapers

Author: David A. Copeland
Doctoral student for the 1993-94 school year
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Address: 421 Woodland Avenue
Wake Forest, NC 27587
919-556-2380

Abstract: This research deals with "the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes," the news in colonial newspapers that concentrated upon two principal topics: slave insurrections and slave crimes. For this study, approximately 7,400 editions of all colonial newspapers available on microfilm were read. Newspapers were read in their entirety to discover news concerning slave revolts, slave crimes, and attitudes toward slaves. This study provides representative samples of news of slave rebellions and crimes that appeared in colonial newspapers from 1690-1775. Slave news was some of the most repeated news to appear in colonial newspapers with newspapers throughout the colonies picking up reports of slave crimes and rebellions that occurred in one colony and presenting that news to the citizens of other colonies.

This research also reveals that colonial newspapers carried numerous stories that reflected the attitudes of white colonists toward African slaves. In these news stories, the inferior nature of blacks, as viewed from a European perspective, is evident. These news stories reveal another aspect of the relationship between blacks and whites in colonial America; white colonists were afraid of slaves, and that fear is apparent in many items in colonial newspapers that repeated the activities of slaves from almost any location in the New World. Fear of slaves is also reflected in the silence some colonial newspapers maintained concerning slave rebellions within their own colony or in their failure to mention revolts in other colonies, insurrections that found their way into the reports of many other colonial newspapers.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELLIOUS NEGROES: NEWS OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS AND CRIMES IN COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS

> If one or more . . . Slaves . . . shall, in the Time of Alarm or Invasion, be found at the Distance of one Mile or more from the Habitation or Plantation of their Respective Owners . . . it shall be adjudged Felony without Benefit of Clergy in such Slave or Slaves; and it shall and may be lawful for the Person or Persons finding such Slave or Slaves . . . to shoot or otherwise destroy such Slave or Slaves, without being impeached, censured or prosecuted for the same.
>
> *Boston Evening-Post*, 10 March 1755.

In 1755, the colony of Massachusetts was waging a war against the French and Native Americans who inhabited Canada and the backcountry areas of New England. While the colony turned its military attention toward stopping this formidable alliance, Massachusetts legislators focused their legislative attention on another potential enemy of the colony, an internal enemy—the slaves of the colony. Why would Massachusetts pass such a law? Were some of the slaves in Massachusetts already in league with the French and Indians? Had the colony's slaves previously rebelled against their white masters? The *Boston Evening-Post*'s report of the act passed by the General Assembly gave no reason for granting citizens the right to kill slaves on the spot under certain circumstances and not face any repercussions for doing it,[1] but the citizens of Massachusetts Bay and every other British colony along the Atlantic seaboard knew the reason such an act might be necessary.

Weekly newspapers for years had been supplying readers with news of "the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes,"[2] accounts that related insurrections by African slaves throughout the New World and even in Africa. If white colonists were forced to focus their attention upon an invader like the French and Indians, the slaves might seize the opportunity to rebel, join with the enemy, or wage war themselves upon white colonists. It had happened before in the colonies, in 1740 when invading Spaniards from Florida incited Georgia slaves to revolt,[3] and Massachusetts leaders evidently were not willing to give the French and Indians the opportunity to do the same. The colony, therefore, declared that at certain times all slaves more than a mile from their home were enemies of the colonies.

This research deals with "the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes," the news in colonial newspapers that concentrated upon two principal topics: slave insurrections and slave crimes. For this study, approximately 7,400 editions of all colonial newspapers available on microfilm were read. Newspapers were read in their entirety to discover news concerning slave revolts, slave crimes, and attitudes toward slaves.[4] This research reveals that colonial newspapers carried numerous stories that reflected the attitudes of white colonists toward African slaves. In these news stories, the inferior nature of blacks, as viewed from a European perspective, is evident. These news stories reflect another aspect of the relationship between blacks and whites in colonial America; white colonists were afraid of slaves, and that fear is apparent in many items in colonial newspapers that repeated the activities of slaves from almost any location in the New World. Fear of slaves is also reflected in the silence some colonial newspapers maintained concerning slave rebellions within their own colony or in their failure to mention revolts in other colonies, insurrections that found their way into the reports of many other colonial newspapers.

Slavery was big business throughout the colonial period. Although beyond the parameters of this study, the advertisements of colonial newspapers reveal the booming slave trade that existed in the colonies and the problems that slave owners had with runaway slaves. Scholarly research into slave advertisements forms the basis for media literature that deals with slaves and colonial newspapers.[5] Studies about the news of slaves, except for research into the antislavery literature of the later colonial period,[6] however, have not been undertaken, which is a mistake according to historian Milton Cantor, who said that colonial literature "touching on the Negro is explicit."[7] Colonial newspapers, while not specifically considered literature, do comprise one of the largest bodies of written material of the period, and this research seeks to uncover the way news stories reported on the activities of African slaves and Anglo-Americans' perceptions of slave activity and conduct.

Many readers of colonial newspapers no doubt felt that slave news provided life-or-death information. Although news in Boston of an attempted slave insurrection in South Carolina appeared in the Massachusetts city's newspapers weeks after the fact,[8] the news kept Bostonians on guard. It reminded them that similar revolts had occurred in Boston[9] and that the potential for similar rebellions still existed in their city just as much as on the plantations of the Tidewater region of South Carolina. This fact helps also to explain Massachusetts' harsh law passed against slaves in 1755 and announced in the *Boston Evening-Post.* Understanding attitudes toward slavery in America as represented in colonial newspapers, however, requires understanding the origins of slavery and some of its economic repercussions. The following brief discussion of slavery in America should help in that understanding.

Slavery in America

Slavery for Africans in the British colonies of America began with the arrival of twenty Africans via Dutch ship to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. Although those twenty Africans were not considered to be slaves by the Jamestown residents and they worked as indentured servants in the tobacco fields of the growing English colony, the concept of perpetual slavery of blacks grew, about as quickly as the populating of the Atlantic seaboard by whites.[10] Blacks from Africa were not the only ones to serve as slaves either. Europeans attempted to force Native Americans into servitude as well, but this practice was not successful because Indians lacked experience with any intensified agricultural methods such as those used in Europe and West Africa.[11]

The whites who arrived from Europe were not establishing a new practice when they used African slaves to assist with the difficult manual labor needed to survive in America. As early as 1300, Europeans forced Africans into slavery in order to work the sugar plantations of the Mediterranean Sea region of the continent.[12] The use of Africans by the English followed, and during the ill-fated attempts at English colonization on Roanoke Island in the 1580s, blacks, in some capacity of servitude, were left with the colony in 1586.[13]

The restriction of slavery to blacks rested, ultimately, upon the principle that racially inferior beings belonged in servitude to their superiors. Carried further, this concept made the servitude of Negroes in American inheritable.[14] The boom period for tobacco during the 1620s fostered this kind of thinking. As the colony of Virginia achieved more and more financial success through the exportation of tobacco, the greater the need became for a large, inexpensive labor supply. Imported Africans filled that need, and this system of labor developed into a system that treated humans as things.[15]

The tobacco plantations of Virginia, however, were not the only places in colonial America where slavery existed. Boston was only eight years old when slaves were brought into the town of 1,500 citizens, and by 1690, slaves were just as numerous in northern urban centers as they were in the tobacco-growing regions of the Southern colonies.[16] Slaves comprised just over 13 percent of the total population of the colonies in that year with slaves present in all twelve colonies.[17]

During the seventeenth century, the slave trade in America was a monopoly run by the Royal African Trading Company, but in 1698, Parliament opened African slave traffic to independent merchants and traders.[18] Americans quickly discovered just how profitable slave trade could be. The main American traders for slaves were shippers from New England, specifically Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Their ships left America loaded with rum that was used to purchase slaves along the African coast. With their ships loaded with slaves, the New England captains sailed to the West Indies or Southern colonies and sold the cargoes of slaves for a considerable profit, thereby continuing the cycle of slave trade.[19] Slaves in this trading scheme generally brought £21 for males, £18 for women, and £14 for children in the Caribbean.[20] Slaves sold in the Southern colonies averaged higher prices, around £30 in 1730 to as much as £60 by 1750.[21] The slave trade became so profitable for New England merchants and shippers that two-thirds of Rhode Island's ships and sailors directly participated in the trade.[22] In fact, from the first decade of the eighteenth century to 1740, the yearly value of the slaves imported into America grew from £28,000 to £118,000.[23]

The growing profits made by those dealing in the slave trade—in conjunction with the desire for cheap labor—helped to increase the number of slaves being brought into the colonies in the eighteenth century, estimated at 1,000 per year from 1700-1720, 2,500 per year from 1720-1740, and 5,000 per year from 1740-1760.[24] By 1770, more than 450,000 slaves resided in the thirteen colonies,[25] with one quarter million Africans being taken from their homeland and sold into American slavery during the century.[26] More than 35 percent of the immigrants entering New York City in the middle third of the eighteenth century were African slaves,[27] and the Massachusetts slave population doubled from 1700 to 1750, blacks accounting for 8 percent of Boston's total population in 1755.[28] By 1720, more than half of South Carolina's total population was comprised of Africans, and blacks outnumbered whites in the colony for the rest of the century.[29] Slavery and slave trading were, by the eighteenth century, a regular part of American life with slaves in every colony.[30]

The success of the slave trade for New England merchants and the necessity of it for crop production on Southern plantations firmly entrenched slavery in eighteenth-century American society. Success and necessity helped produce a domestic slave trade in addition to the overseas ventures. The major expositor of this trade became the colonial newspapers, which provided a wider and more readily available market by helping to bring buyer and seller together.[31] Newspaper printers realized, too, that slavery was a means to a profit for them as well, yet the content of colonial newspapers, other than advertisements that presented the economic aspects of slavery, reveals few feelings about slaves other than fear and inferiority of Africans in their relationship with white colonists. For these reasons, news of slave revolts and slave crimes occupied the bulk of colonial news about slaves.

The Rebellious Negroes and Colonial Newspapers

On April 21, 1712, the *Boston News-Letter* announced to the citizens of Boston that seventy Negroes were in custody in New York following their "late Conspiracy to Murder the Christians" in that region. A wholesale extermination of rebellious slaves followed in New York as the colony initiated a string of executions that burned, broke on the wheel, and hanged up alive to be left to die those slaves who had assumed an active role in the insurrection. Many of the slaves arrested hanged themselves or slit their own throats rather than face such torturous deaths.[32] No doubt harsher treatment for slaves not involved in the revolt followed as well. The *News-Letter*'s account of the New York slave revolt was one in the long list of slave rebellion reports to appear in colonial newspapers, and according to the papers, slave revolts occurred with great frequency and throughout the New World.

When colonial newspapers reported "the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes," they could have been talking about slave revolts in Boston, Charleston, Kingston, or almost any other locale that had a slave population and contact with the British colonies of North America. In fact, in the years of this study, forty-seven slave revolts were reported by newspapers to have taken place or have been planned in twenty-six locations in the New World.[33]

The frequency of slave rebellions and the amount of news they generated attests to the concern white colonists up and down the Atlantic seaboard shared about the potential danger that slave insurrections represented for whites in the towns and regions containing relatively large concentrations of slaves, the areas not incidentally where newspapers were published. News of slave revolts and slave crimes was no doubt very closely connected in the minds of the readers of colonial newspapers. Both slave revolts and lawlessness were acts of defiance by those in subjugation against those in authority.

Reports of slave insurrections were not confined to the colonies of the New World either. Colonial newspapers carried accounts of slave rebellions onboard ships that were bringing Africans to the colonies for servitude. Outnumbered whites had to be constantly on guard for their lives because of the great number of blacks being transported, even though the Africans were generally in irons and kept below deck most of the time. A London letter concerning an uprising upon a ship was printed by John Holt in the *New-York Journal*:

> On Sunday last, about three in the morning; we were all (who lay in the cabbin) alarmed with a most horrid noise of the negroes, which was succeeded by several dreadful shrieks from Mr. Howard and several of the people upon deck. Surprised at such an uncommon uproar, I Strove to awake Capt. Millroy, but before I could make him sensible of what had happened I received a stroke over my shoulders with a billet of wood, as also a cut with a cutlass on the back of my neck. The cries of Mr. Howard, who was murdered under the windlass, as also those of several of the people, whom the villains were butchering on the main deck, had thrown me into such a state of stupidity, that I did not in the least feel the wound I had received.[34]

Reports of slave revolts on land or sea no doubt stirred the imaginations of readers and provoked thoughts of fear by describing the activities of slaves or by just mentioning that a revolt had taken place. Both types of rebellion news stories found their way into colonial newspapers. When slaves revolted in the middle of the night and killed families in their beds in Surinam,[35] Boston readers had a clear picture of the potential danger they might face from the sizeable slave population in their city should enough slaves become discontent. When the

Boston Weekly Post-Boy, however, announced to its readers that "a new Negro Plot is just discovered" in South Carolina in 1740,[36] nothing else was said. Readers could supply the details of what might have happened had the revolt taken place. South Carolina had suffered through the worst slave revolt to have occurred in the colonies just months before, the Stono Rebellion,[37] and the vast differences in the white and black populations of the colony were well known, at least to Boston readers, who as early as 1730 were informed of the population disparity between slaves and whites in South Carolina. In a letter from Charleston that was printed in the *Boston News-Letter*, a South Carolina resident noted, "For take the whole Province we have about 28 thousand Negros to 3 thousand Whites."[38] When the Stono Rebellion and the disparity in white and black population were taken into account by Boston newspaper readers, no real details of a revolt were needed to reach a conclusion about what might happen if an uprising were to occur.

Because of the threat large numbers of slaves presented for the white population, any activity by slaves that had the potential to lead to an insurrection was closely scrutinized.[39] Almost every report of a slave rebellion ran in multiple colonial newspapers, but two of the most repeated accounts of slave insurrections appeared in the colonial newspapers in 1745 and 1750 and discussed massive rebellions by slaves in the Caribbean.

In 1745, slaves on Jamaica prepared to stage a large insurrection on the island. This attempt was not the first by Jamaican slaves nor would it be the last. Jamaican slaves attempted approximately 250 rebellions during the period that slavery existed on the island, and those rebellions were never small. The average number of slaves taking part in Jamaican revolts averaged between three and four hundred in the eighteenth century,[40] and six years before the 1745 revolt, thousands of Jamaican slaves had rebelled against servitude in what

Jamaicans called the first Maroon war.[41] The ratio of ten slaves to one white on the island further exacerbated relationships between whites and their black slaves.[42]

In January 1745, a plot where the slaves planned to "destroy all the Whites" on the island was "very near accomplished." The rebellion was thwarted just as the slaves planned to attack, however, and the whole affair was made known to Americans by a letter received in Boston dated February 2, 1745, and printed in the *Boston Evening-Post* on April 1. Within a week, the letter was reprinted in newspapers in New York,[43] and it ran twelve days later in Philadelphia.[44] The *Virginia Gazette* presented the letter in May.[45] The letter provided readers with an account of what had nearly happened on Jamaica, explaining the slaves' proposed plan to kill the whites and how the plot was sabotaged. Slaves on plantations were to murder their masters and mistresses and then proceed to the near-by town, where they would set fire to both ends of the town and shoot or stab whites as they ran in fear from the smoke and flames. The plot was revealed by a sympathetic slave who did not want to see her mistress killed. The white woman then sent news of the planned rebellion to her husband, away for several days of card playing. He ignored the note from his wife until the last minute, so the wife got help from a neighbor, who gathered the local militia and surprised the slaves in their hideout. The letter from Jamaica, which appeared in all cities with newspapers except Charleston, reminded white citizens of the deviousness of slaves and the potential for harm if one let one's guard down as did the card-playing husband.

When a newly arrived lot of slaves in Curaçao revolted in 1750, whites reacted quickly. A July 25 letter from the Dutch settlement in the Antilles told that the settlers "had done nothing in our island but racking and executing a parcel of new Negroes, who had plotted to destroy all the whites." After being racked, the letter stated and newspapers related, the rebellious slaves had "their hearts taken out and dash'd in their faces."[46] The letter quickly ran in newspapers north and south of New York. In Boston it appeared in two papers,[47] and it ran in both Philadelphia publications.[48] The identical letter with a New York dateline appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* the first week of September.[49] And just as the card playing account of insurrection in Jamaica failed to appear in the *South-Carolina Gazette*,[50] so, too, was the news from Curaçao concerning the slave revolt absent.[51] Interestingly, another letter from Curaçao dated July 27 concerning the slave revolt that ran in the *New-York Evening-Post*[52] was not picked up by any of the other colonial newspapers. In the *Evening-Post*'s expanded version of the insurrection, colonists and free Negroes were killed by the slaves. The killing of whites by the rebellious slaves may have been the reason that other newspapers picked up the *New-York Gazette* version as opposed to the *Evening-Post* account. Other factors may have entered into the decision, too, including availability of the two papers in other towns and the quality of writing. The *Gazette*'s report was much more succinct. Whatever the reason for the omission of the *Evening-Post*'s version, the inclusion of the *New-York Gazette* letter again points out the danger that many whites felt from slaves, be they newly imported as in Curaçao or lifetime chattel.

The same repetition of slave rebellion stories took place continually in the colonial period. When Spanish soldiers from Florida invaded Georgia during the War of Jenkin's Ear late in 1739, for example, slaves seized upon the opportunity to revolt in the newly organized English colony, and newspapers related the news up and down the Atlantic seaboard.[53] These stories usually came from one source that was received by one newspaper and copied by others. This method of obtaining news items created a problem for colonial newspapers. Accuracy was sometimes lost; innuendo was acceptable for news; and verification of a news story often came weeks or months later. This problem could be applied to all news in colonial newspapers, but it appeared to be especially true of news of slave revolts. Verification was important for a news story, but confirmation could wait when an item of interest to the welfare of colonists had reached the hands of a printer. Newspapers had no way to verify the accuracy of a news story of a slave rebellion in Jamaica, Curaçao, or Georgia, unless a second account from a different source was available. Newspapers generally assumed that a news item was true, but the large number of slave rebellion stories from many different locations made verification nearly impossible.

One of the best examples of the printing of inaccurate information concerning slave revolts occurred in 1760. Slaves in Jamaica, at least 1,200 of them, had revolted, and news about the rebellion made its way to America. A letter from Saint Mary's on Jamaica addressed the issue of misinformation: "I am informed you have received several erroneous and contradictory Accounts of the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes; which I am not surprized at, as the Truth is difficult to come at here on the Spot. The following is the best Information I can give you thereof."[54] Whether the letter writer provided accurate information is doubtful, since it contained numerous comments about the actions and thoughts of the rebelling slaves, including the revealing way in which the slaves persuaded one of their leaders to continue the revolt even after he was wounded.[55] The letter did, however, provide newspaper readers an interesting account of the way in which whites sought "to reduce the Blackymores to obedience."[56]

Colonial newspapers printed numerous reports from Jamaica that dealt with the insurrection for the remainder of 1760, one often contradicting the other. In July, for instance, newspapers reported that the rebellion had been entirely quelled with "no Apprehension of their [the slaves] coming to any Head again"[57] and that "a second Insurrection of the Negroes had been attempted."[58] The sons of printer Thomas Fleet, who continued to print the *Boston Evening-Post* after their father's death, no doubt felt they had finally received accurate information on the activities in Jamaica in November because the pair prefaced the *Evening-Post*s latest news from Jamaica with "we have prints to the 4th of October,"[59] referring to copies of the newspapers of Jamaica, the *Jamaica Gazette*, the *Kingston Journal*, and the *St. Jago Intelligencer*. The Fleets were relying upon printed, public news rather than letters from citizens or the hearsay of a ship's captain and probably felt this information was more accurate for that reason, despite the fact that the Jamaican newspapers may have received their news from letters and hearsay as well.

The news of the Jamaican slave revolt played continuously to the readers of newspapers from Annapolis to Boston in 1760, but in South Carolina, news about the Jamaican slave revolt—or any slave revolt for that matter—was a rarity. The omission in 1760 by the *South-Carolina Gazette* may be blamed on the fact that the colony was in the midst of a fierce war against both the Cherokees and smallpox, but after 1739, the *Gazette* carefully avoided mention of most slave revolts, especially those that were reported to have taken place in South Carolina. When the *Maryland Gazette* stated "that an Insurrection was apprehended in the Providence [*sic*] of South-Carolina" in 1760,[60] it was printing a piece of news that would not appear in a South Carolina newspaper. In South Carolina, news of slave revolts was seldom printed, and the reasons for the omissions stemmed directly from fear of a concerted effort by the colony's large slave population.

From 1720 onward, African slaves outnumbered whites in South Carolina. By 1730 there were approximately two slaves for every white inhabitant of the colony, and the ratio did not dip below that average for the remainder of the century.[61] In 1730, colonial newspapers in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia reported that a large slave revolt in the province had been uncovered and stopped. The slaves, according to the account in the *New-York Gazette*, failed because the slaves could not decide whether they "should destroy their own Masters" or

"Ris[e] up in a Body, and giv[e] the Blow once in Surprize."[62] No newspaper existed in South Carolina in 1730 to print the news of the revolt, but when similar rebellions occurred in 1739 and 1740, the *South-Carolina Gazette* printed no information "that a new Negro Plot is just discover'd" in the colony.[63]

Besides the obvious fear of slaves because of the overwhelming odds they possessed in numbers versus whites, news of slave rebellion activity in South Carolina was omitted by the colony's only newspaper because of the Stono Rebellion of 1739.[64] In September 1739, slaves broke into a store, robbing it of guns and ammunition. In the process they murdered the shop owner, severed his head, and left it on the steps of the store. The slaves, who had started the revolt twenty miles from Charleston, began moving southward toward Florida picking up rebellious slaves and killing whites along the way. The slaves soon numbered between sixty and one hundred and were met by a group of white planters of approximately the same size. A battle ensued that successfully halted the main thrust of the rebelling slaves. Small groups of slaves continued their revolt, but the insurrection was doomed. The death toll for the rebellion was estimated at twenty-one whites and forty-four slaves, and the legislature granted total immunity to all persons who aided in the suppression of the rebellion.

Because of the Stono Rebellion, South Carolina enacted a strict slave code in 1740 that decreed that "the extent of . . . power over . . . slaves ought to be settled and limited by positive laws, so that the slave may be kept in due subjection and obedience." Slaves were required "to submit . . . or undergo the examination of any white person," and if the slave dared to react with violence, the slave code stated that "such slave may be lawfully killed."[65] The *South-Carolina Gazette* never mentioned the slave code during the year.

The *South-Carolina Gazette* may have ignored slave revolts, but the newspaper did not ignore slaves. In direct reaction to the activities of slaves in the colony, the colony passed strict laws banning slaves from congregating for any purpose. The *Gazette*, under the guidance of Elizabeth Timothy, printed this news. The colony made it illegal for slaves to gather in Charleston to play "Dice and other Games," and it prohibited "gathering together such great Numbers of Negroes, both in Town and Country, at their Burials and on the Sabbath Day."[66] The law was an obvious attempt to keep slaves from congregating in large enough numbers that a revolt could occur.

The South Carolina law as reported in the *South-Carolina Gazette* was just one of the numerous efforts during the colonial period to control African slaves. Increasingly, colonial laws recognized slaves as chattel or property, and newspapers printed these laws and correspondence that revealed how white colonists looked upon the black slaves. Because of the growing number of slaves in America, the slave laws that colonial governments enacted, the many reports of slave revolts, and the omission of slave rebellion news in South Carolina, many white colonists developed a fear of slaves. Reinforcing this increasing fear was the white perception that people of color, specifically blacks, were inferior and incapable of obtaining a high moral or intelligence level. This understanding led to a particular depiction of slaves that appeared in colonial newspapers.

Attitudes toward and Perceptions of African Slaves

The fear of slaves and the concept that people of color were inferior to whites manifested itself in a number of ways in colonial newspapers. Laws continually restricted the activities of slaves, and letters written to newspapers concerning slaves often advocated keeping Africans in the lowest positions of society. Both of these practices developed as a result of slave rebellions, slave crimes, and the feelings of superiority that white colonists possessed, and often there was no masking the fear that whites had of those whom they held in servitude. As a result, the laws of colonial legislatures and the correspondence sent to newspapers concerning slaves often advocated harsh treatment to slaves.

In 1740, for instance, a writer to the *Boston Evening-Post* criticized slave owners for their lack of control of slaves, something that created an untenable situation in Boston. "The great Disorders committed by Negroes, who are permitted by their imprudent Masters, &c. to be out late at Night," the letter writer complained, "has determined several sober and substantial Housekeepers to walk about the Town in the sore part of the Night . . . and it is hoped that all lovers of Peace and good Order will join their endeavours for preventing the like Disorders for the future."[67] Freedom and leniency were items writers to newspapers felt were evils for both slaves and their white owners. Being less than severe in a relationship with slaves was dangerous for whites as a letter from Williamsburg explained:

> Some time about Christmas last, a tragical affair happened at a plantation . . . the particulars of which . . . are as follows, viz. The Negroes belonging to the plantation having long been treated with too much lenienty and indulgence, were grown extremely insolent and unruly. . . . The Steward's deputy . . . had ordered one of the slaves to make a fire every morning very early; the fellow did not appear till sunrise; on being examined why he came not sooner, he gave most insolent and provoking answers, upon which . . . the fellow made a stroke at him with an ax.[68]

Slaves on the plantation had been given some leeway earlier, and because a less than severe approach had been taken with them, an overseer had been axed. After the axing, a revolt broke out between the slaves and whites on the plantation that resulted in numerous deaths on both sides.

Because leniency could lead to danger from slaves, colonial governments, according to reports in colonial newspapers, passed numerous laws to suppress any kind of leisure activities for slaves. These laws, as Leon Higginbotham pointed out, were a concerted effort on the part of colonies to halt conspiratory actions by slaves, something that was very likely if slaves were given any free time.[69] Again, fear of slaves was the underlying motive behind these laws.

Wherever governments felt that the potential for slave problems existed, stringent laws to inhibit slave activity were enacted. In 1730, for example, the governor of Virginia placed the militia on active duty and ordered that the quarters of slaves in the region surrounding Norfolk be inspected each night.[70] In Boston, the city passed laws that prohibited any slave from leaving the home of his master after nine o'clock at night, and if slaves were caught on the street after that hour, they were to be publicly whipped.[71] In New York, slaves were not allowed to congregate in groups larger than three because slaves with free time had been on the streets of the city uttering "very insolent Expressions, and otherways misbehaved themselves."[72]

Repressive laws were only one way that whites attempted to suppress slaves. Newspapers echoed the views of colonial society that African blood produced inferior beings in numerous ways. This fact, according to some newspaper reports, was very obvious if one observed mulattos. Even though mulattos were the product of one white parent, they were still considered inferior because of their mixed racial ancestry. The company of mulattos was to be avoided by all whites, and one writer to the *South-Carolina Gazette* remarked, "none appear to me so monstrously ridiculous as the Molatto Gentleman."[73] Slaves were thought of as inferior to whites. By reaffirming this concept, colonial newspapers helped colonial society keep order. If whites could continually reaffirm their dominance over blacks in both physical and emotional ways, they could hold on to their tenuous position as masters over another, and sometimes more populous group.

A poem, *On a Negro girl making her Court to a fair Youth*, spoke of the impossibility of white and black existing together. In the poetry, the slave girl desired a physical relationship with a white boy, but the reply by the young man addressed the fact that such an action would cost the whites their property as black would overshadow white. In putting down the slave as foolish for such a request as a relationship on par with whites, the underlying fear of black dominance of whites was being addressed. The importance of white over black may also be detected in the poem through its capitalization, white being capitalized while black remains in lower case. The poem stated:

> Negro, complain not, that I fly;
> When Fate commands Antipathy.
> Prodigious might that Union prove.
> When Day and Night together move.
> And the Communion of our Lips,
> Not Kisses make, but an Eclipse;
> In which the mixed black and White,
> Portends more Horror than Delight.
> Yet, if thou wild my shadow be,
> Enjoy thy dearest Wish, but see
> You take my shadows Property;
> Which always flys when I draw near
> And don't so much as drop a Tear,
> And nothing shew of Love or Fear.[74]

The view of the inferiority of blacks in colonial society was greatly enhanced by the white belief that slaves, specifically black slaves, were property. As early as 1706, that concept was appearing in news stories. In 1705, forty-four African slaves died in Massachusetts, and the *Boston News-Letter* reported that those deaths amounted to a loss "to the Sum of One Thousand three hundred and Twenty Pounds."[75] Parliament reported England's earnings on the importation and exportation of slaves in the nation's economic report.[76] Drownings in North Carolina of four slaves were not lamented as a loss of life but as the loss of "most Valuable Slaves," whose monetary significance was the only true forfeiture.[77] Slaves were property, and as such they could be put on display as a mulatto slave was in Boston because "a White Negro was such a Novelty in America that one was exhibited Night by Night at the Sign of the White House."[78]

All of the efforts of the colonies to suppress slaves through laws and all newspaper accounts of the inferiority of African slaves were of little value, however, when slaves actually decided to revolt against whites. African slaves, who had been free before being sold into captivity, sought freedom. This desire for freedom manifested itself in the form of slave insurrections, but slaves sought freedom in another way as well, through acts of violence in crime.

Slave Crimes in Colonial Newspapers

As long as whites maintained physical superiority over slaves, control belonged to them. When the balance of power swung to the slaves, criminal violence was often the result, which is exactly what happened to a Maryland overseer who walked alone into the woods with a group of slaves to chastise them. The overseer never returned alive.[79] Such actions by slaves were acts of defiance against whites and created yet another fear of slaves that colonial newspapers reported.

Not all slave crimes were overt attempts at self-manumission. Some of the slave crimes reported in colonial newspapers were simply criminal activity. Psychological analysis might reveal that all violent attacks by slaves were still caused by their forced bondage, but rapes and burglaries do not fit into the pattern of reactionary violence like rebellions and murders of slave owners, acts that offered slaves at least temporary freedom from those in direct control of them. Regardless the reasoning for the crimes, criminal activity by slaves produced news for colonial newspapers, and slaves, with few exceptions, received harsher punishments than whites for the same crimes.

Slaves, despite colonial efforts to keep them from communicating with one another as witnessed in many of the laws already discussed, evidently were able to overcome such decrees against them. In South Carolina in 1735, a crime ring operated by slaves was uncovered. Apparently, slaves had successfully robbed stores and storehouses of more than £2,000 in goods and had funneled the goods through an underground network for months before authorities were able to discern the robbers' identities or even that they were slaves.[80] In 1775, a similar group of slaves in Virginia known as "Dunmore's banditti," worked the region around Norfolk, robbing homes and taking away slaves.[81]

The rape of a white female by a slave was a heinous crime according to colonial newspaper reports. Although slaves were sometimes whipped and shipped out of a colony for such acts,[82] execution was the usual fate for slaves who committed a rape. A New Jersey slave, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported, was executed for the attempted rape of a white girl.[83] Whites who committed similar acts of violence against comparable victims usually received much more lenient sentences. An attempted rape by a Quaker against a four-year-old near Philadelphia, as reported in the *Boston Evening-Post*, earned the Quaker only "a Month's Imprisonment," "a fine of 10*l*.," and a short stint "in the Pillory." The sentence came down after testimony that the Quaker "had torn open the poor Creature with his Fingers and most vilely used her."[84]

The same types of strict punishments that were handed out for rape were also meted out to slaves convicted of burglary or attempted burglary, according to colonial newspapers. Slaves were hanged in Annapolis and Charleston for house breaking and horse stealing.[85] Whipping was the general mode of punishment for whites committing the same crimes.[86]

While rapes and burglaries were serious offenses, slaves seeking freedom from whites through murder and arson posed much more danger to the whites of colonial America. Newspapers reported these crimes and trials closely. Arson by slaves was a continual source of danger for whites. The diversion created by the fire also allowed slaves time to escape. Slaves, according to colonial newspapers, had discovered arson as a means of getting even with or for eliminating their owners by the early 1720s,[87] and a rash of New York fires in 1712 and more in Boston in 1723 were attributed to slaves.[88] In 1730, a Massachusetts slave used fire as a means of retribution for his being sold and as a screen for his attempted flight to freedom. The report, as presented in Philadelphia, stated:

> We are inform'd, that on the last Lord's Day a House was burnt at Malden, we are further told, that the Owner of the said House lately Sold a Negro Man to a Person in Salem, which the Fellow not liking, to be reveng'd on his Master at Malden, came on the said Day from Salem to the said House, and finding the Family were at meeting went up into the Chamber thereof, and stole 50*l.* in Money, and then set the Chamber on Fire, and ran away . . . and accordingly was pursu'd after, and was taken up in or about Lyn.[89]

Fire remained an effective means of retribution for slaves throughout the colonial period, as one female slave admitted in 1760 was her intent after she was taken into custody for burning her master's barn and house.[90]

Outright attempts at murder, however, offered a much greater chance for retailation against white owners than arson did. Long Island slaves murdered their owners in 1712 to achieve freedom of movement on Sundays, something the slaves' owners had recently taken away from the slaves.[91] The avenues for murdering either master or master and family were wide for slaves, and the most popular means of removing white slave-owning families by slaves, according to colonial newspapers, was through poisoning. Slaves were in charge of the cooking and daily maintenance of households. Slaves entering the local apothecary and purchasing ratsbane in order to remove rodents from homes was no doubt a common practice. The rat poison—or some other lethal substance—could be easily placed in the food of the whites by the slaves to eliminate them.

Chocolate was the means to the end for one Boston family in 1735. The family of Humphrey Scarlet was treated to chocolate for breakfast, but the chocolate had been laced with "Arsenick, or Rats-bane" and fed to Mrs. Scarlet and her children. In telling of this act by the Scarlets' slaves, the news report called for all poisons to be available only to whites. "If this Method had been observed," the report concluded, "Mr. Scarlet's Negroes would not have had such a Stock of Arsenick by them."[92] Poisonings by slaves, according to the *Boston Evening-Post* in the summer of 1755, made life dangerous for all whites who owned slaves. Just across the Charles River from Boston, a man, whose "lower Parts turned as black as a Coal," died after ingesting "calcined Lead, such as Potters use in glazing their Ware."[93] When the murdered man's slaves were put on trial, it was discovered that the murder was a conspiracy, and his servants, who committed the crime because they discovered that their master's will called for their manumission at his death, were either burned at the stake or hanged.[94] In addition to the Massachusetts poisoning, the *Evening-Post* reported that a woman slave, with the assistance of a black doctor and a white man, poisoned the slave woman's master in Annapolis.[95]

Slaves also murdered their owners with guns,[96] axes,[97] butcher knives, or bare hands.[98] One of the most graphic of these kinds of stories appeared in 1755 when a Kittery slave realized the best way to obtain retribution against his owner was to extract revenge through his master's children. The report spread quickly in America as newspapers from Boston to Annapolis published the report, which stated:

> A Negro Fellow . . . having behaved ill to his Master, he had corrected him, which the Fellow resented so highly, that he resolved to take away his Master's Life; but judging him not fit to die, he got up in the Night, took a Child [of the Master] about 6 or 7 Years old out of its Bed, and threw it into the Well, where it perished.[99]

A "wilful murder" conviction in colonial America carried with it the death sentence, and when slaves were convicted of murder, the execution was often carried out in an effort to deliver a strong statement that would inhibit similar acts by other slaves. A Virginia slave found guilty of murder, the Pennsylvania newspapers reported, was hanged, and then as a warning to other slaves, the convicted slave was drawn and quartered and left on exhibition.[100] The Maryland slave convicted of poisoning her master with the assistance of a black doctor and a white man was hanged in chains along with her accomplices for all passers-by—especially slaves—to see as their bodies decomposed in the July heat.[101] In 1750, after a pair of New Jersey slaves shot their mistress to death, the court sentenced them to be burned to death.[102]

The harsh punishments handed out to convicted slaves as described in colonial newspapers might lead one to the conclusion that a court date for a slave in colonial America was little more than a formality and that a guilty conviction was a foregone conclusion. Punishments may have been harsher and guilty pleas more common for slaves than for white citizens, but according to colonial newspapers, neither took place as a matter of fact. A day in court was, in colonial America, a serious affair, and evidently free men and slaves approached it in that manner.[103] As a result, slaves were not always found guilty.

In February 1735, for instance, two slaves were acquitted on charges of burglary and arson in Boston. The acquittals at the Superior Court trial were handed down because "the Evidences on the part of the King not being strong enough to convict them in the apprehension of the Jury."[104] And even though the legal codes of most colonies in the eighteenth century categorized slaves as property to be corrected by owners as deemed necessary,[105] slave owners, according to court reports in colonial newspapers, might occasionally inflict too severe a punishment upon a slave.[106] One Matthias Auble, a New York slave owner, found this out after mortally beating his slave. Newspapers reported that the Auble's man

> died suddenly. . . . And a Jury being called, and his Body opened by the Physicians, it was judged his Death was occasioned by the Cruelty of his master a few Days before in chastising him for some Misdemeanor; and Auble was immediately taken up and secured in the County Goal in order to be brought to a Trial for the same.[107]

The concept that killing a slave could be a felony slowly found its way into the laws of some colonies during the colonial period, North Carolina, for example, adopting the principle in 1774.[108] Acceptance of this idea was, as colonial newspapers demonstrate, neither universally approved nor even foremost in the minds of legislators when they created laws for a colony. Massachusetts lawmakers evidently felt that under certain circumstances it was better to shoot a slave rather than find out if a slave was dangerous, and the law guaranteed that the person killing the slave could do so "without being impeached, censured or prosecuted."[109]

Conclusion

Slave news provided readers of colonial newspapers with information about a commodity that many European colonists deemed absolutely necessary to their survival. This attitude was firmly entrenched in colonial America by the eighteenth century. As Edward Downing wrote to Governor John Winthrop concerning the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1645, "The colony will never thrive untill we gett . . . a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our business."[110] Even though colonists viewed slaves as indispensable for the success of the colonies, that fact was not discussed in the colonial newspapers studied. Colonial newspapers painted a much different portrait of slaves. African slaves revolted against their owners. Slaves murdered, robbed, raped, and burned out whites. Slaves were an inferior necessity that required stringent legislation to control. As inferior beings, slaves became the object of ridicule and ultimately were considered to be property by those who owned them and by the legal systems of the colonies.

Colonial newspapers rarely printed a positive word about slaves, except for the few charitable acts by slaves who warned their owners of impending slave revolts. Even the antislavery literature of the 1770s usually viewed Africans as inferior to whites, and argued that if slaves were manumitted, without the continued guidance of whites, they would become a "manifest hazard to the province."[111]

The slave news of colonial newspapers was important because slaves, despite the fact that they were considered an irreplaceable labor source, ironically also represented a potential danger to the very survival of colonists. This dual nature of colonists' view of slaves made information concerning slaves mandatory for Americans in the eighteenth century. The fact that news of slaves was reprinted by newspapers throughout the colonies affirms this. As seen when a Kittery slave threw his owner's child down the well as retribution, eight colonial newspapers representing all cities printing newspapers from Boston to Annapolis ran the news.[112] And the citizens of Charleston, Williamsburg, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston—every colonial city with a newspaper in 1740—read of the slave insurrection in Georgia during that year. Newspaper news of slave rebellions and of slave crimes was some of the most often repeated news in all colonial newspapers. Repetition speaks to the importance of news to colonists.

But just as much as the repetition of slave news speaks to its importance, the omission of slave news does the same thing. In South Carolina—where news of slave activity should have been most prevalent based on the black-to-white ratio of inhabitants—there was a noticeable lack of news of slaves. Following the Stono Rebellion of 1739, news of slave activity in South Carolina or almost any other place in the New World disappeared with only a few exceptions from the *South-Carolina Gazette*'s pages. This omission of slave insurrection news in the *Gazette* may have been a case of self-censorship or it may have been imposed upon the *Gazette*.[113] The question is probably moot because the omission, whether self-imposed or politically mandated, speaks to the fear whites felt concerning blacks.

The insertion of slave news into the local newspaper served two vital functions: it allowed the sharing of news in all the major towns of America, and it made the news of an event "official." A ship leaving Boston, for example, heading for Philadelphia with a print of the latest Boston newspaper carried information unknown to Philadelphians, and these papers from other parts of the colony were greatly desired by printers. News of a slave crime or revolt in Boston would have been, as Richard D. Brown maintains, common knowledge among the city's residents through a network of oral communication that included taverns and peer groups,[114] but its presentation in the newspaper of the city somehow made it official, in much the same way that the *Boston Evening-Post*'s printers John and Thomas Fleet considered news of slave insurrections in Jamaica authoritative once they received notice of them from the Jamaican newspapers.[115]

Slave news from 1730-1760 was much more prominent in newspapers than at any other time during the colonial period. The rapid influx of slaves into America no doubt created some alarm for white colonists. The slave population of America grew from under 100,000 in 1730 to more than 325,000 in 1760, an increase to 20 percent of America's total population from 14 percent,[116] and twenty-nine different slave revolts were reported to have taken place during this period according to the newspapers studied.

Slave news in colonial newspapers was almost always wrapped in fear, fear that the slave population would rise up and destroy—or at least hinder greatly—the success of the colonies. The printing of this news no doubt helped keep white Americans ever vigilant to "the Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes" in America.

ENDNOTES

1. *Boston Evening-Post*, 10 March 1755, 1.

2. See, for example, *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 14 January 1734-35, 3; *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 18 January 1735, 4; *New-York Weekly Journal*, 20 January 1735, 2; *Weekly Rehearsal* (Boston), 3 February 1735, 2; *Boston News-Letter*, 22 February 1735, 2; *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 30 June 1735, 2; *Boston Evening-Post*, 25 August 1735, 2; *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 18 January 1739-40, 3; *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 28 January 1755, 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 June 1760, 2; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 5 June 1760, 3; and *Massachusetts Gazette (And Boston News-Letter)*, 18 July 1765, 2.

3. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 26 January 1740, 2.

4. During the colonial period, printers published approximately 36,000 weekly, biweekly and triweekly editions of newspapers. Because of the large number of newspapers in existence, a method was devised for this study that would provide comprehensive coverage of all colonial newspapers while holding the number of editions that needed to be read to a manageable number. All extant editions prior to 1720 were read, and from 1720-1775, newspapers were read in five-year increments—1720, 1725, and so on. Every extant and available newspaper edition printed in the study years from 1720-1755 was read. From 1760-1775, the large number of newspapers and total editions printed during each of the study years necessitated using a method of sampling. A method of selecting newspapers for these years was devised that ensured a low margin of error, less than 4 percent, meaning that less than four chances in one hundred existed for missing a news item dealing with slaves. More than two thousand newspapers were read for the years 1760-1775 or between 500-600 for each year of the study. Even though sampling occurred in selecting years for this study and newspapers to be read from 1760-1775, sampling was not involved in the reading of the newspapers. Sampling figures based on Donald P. Warwick and Charles A. Lininger, *The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 93.

5. See Darold D. Wax, "The Image of the Negro in the *Maryland Gazette*, 1745-75," *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (1969): 73-80, 86. Slave advertisements are also the principal focus of three other studies that deal independently with specific regions of colonial America: Samuel Allinson, Billy G. Smith, and Richard Wojtowicz, "The Precarious Freedom of Blacks in the Mid-Atlantic Region: Excerpts from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1728-1776," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 113 (1989): 237-264; Lorenzo J. Greene, "The New England Negro as Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," *Journal of Negro History* 29 (1944): 125-46; and Daniel E. Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives as Viewed through Local Colonial Newspapers with Emphasis on Runaway Notices, 1732-1801," *Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975): 288-319. Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (1944; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 23, mentions that advertisements dealing with slaves were a regular feature of the *Boston New-Letter*, while James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Garden City and New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1923), 93, notes in passing that colonial printers sometimes increased their incomes by serving as slave sellers for their advertising customers in addition to regularly running advertisements for runaway slaves. The importance of slave advertisements to colonial printers is also briefly

discussed in Steven Deyle, "'By farr the most profitable trade': Slave Trading in British Colonial North America," *Slavery & Abolition* 10 (1989): 116-17.

6. The antislavery literature of colonial newspapers from 1770-1776 has been discussed by Patricia Bradley, "Slavery in Colonial Newspapers: The Somerset Case," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 2-7. Bradley explores the issue of slavery with questions about the formation of the nation as they revolved around newspaper coverage of the case of an American slave who escaped while in England. The slave was declared free by a British court in 1772 and not ordered returned to America. In Bradley, "Connecticut Newspapers and the Dialogue on Slavery: 1770-76," paper presented at the American Journalism Historians Association annual convenntion, St. Paul, Minn., 1987, Bradley discusses the antislavery dialogue of Connecticut newspapers from 1770-76, the principal newspapers involved in the antislavery literature of the colonial period. See also, Bradley, "Slavery in Colonial Newspapers on the Eve of the Revolution 1770-1775" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1988). Antislavery commentaries did appear in newspapers prior to 1770. An antislavery address in Virginia was published in the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 19 March 1767. This address, however, was an exception in Southern colonial newspapers. The earliest antislavery piece to appear in the papers of colonial America was written by George Whitefield in 1740 (See, for example, *Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia], 17 April 1740, 1).

7. Milton Cantor, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature," *New England Quarterly* 36 (1963): 277.

8. *Boston News-Letter*, 22 October 1730, 4.

9. Ibid., 13 June 1720, 4.

10. George Brown Tindall, *America* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1984), 129.

11. Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 94 note 17.

12. David Brion Davis, "The Comparative Approach to American History: Slavery," in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, eds. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 61.

13. Thomas C. Parramore, *Carolina Quest* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 185.

14. Wilbert Moore, "Slave Law and the Social Structure," *Journal of Negro History* 26 (1941): 184-88.

15. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 129. The growing proficiency in growing tobacco and its effects upon slaves are discussed in Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 5. Winthrop D. Jordan, "Enslavement of Negroes in America to 1700," *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, 3rd ed., eds. Stanley N. Katz and John M. Murrin (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 251-52, agrees that

the first decade of Africans' existence in America began the debasement of blacks that led to perpetual bondage.

16. Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 13.

17. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, 1975), 1168.

18. Elkins, *Slavery*, 48-49.

19. James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society 1690-1763* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), 229-30. Various shipping triangles are also discussed in Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). It should be noted that Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, *The Economic Rise of Early America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 91, say that describing the trading patterns of colonial America as triangles is inaccurate. Walton and Shepherd base their conclusions on data from the years 1768-1772 only. Triangular trade is a simplified explanation for the trading patterns that were used in the eighteenth century. American ships sailed several triangles. Besides the African triangle, ships ran from America to England to the Caribbean. Often there were many more stops along the way, but the basic configuration of the trade routes was triangular. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), s.v. "Triangular Trade."

20. Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr. and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *Colonial America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), 305.

21. Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 419.

22. Deyle, "'By farr the most profitable trade,'" 112.

23. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 42 note 2.

24. Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 216.

25. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 1168.

26. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 810.

27. Davis, "The Comparative Approach to American History: Slavery," 62.

28. A. Leon Higginbotham. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process. The Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1978). 81.

29. *Historical Statistics of the United States*. 1168.

30. Marvin Harris. "The Origin of the Descent Rule." in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*. eds. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. 1969). 52.

31. Deyle. "'By farr the most profitable trade.'" 115-16.

32. *Boston News-Letter*. 21 April 1712. 2.

33. The locations and dates of slave rebellions listed in the newspapers of this study are: New York (1712. 1765. 1775); Williamsburg (1730. 1770. 1775); Jamaica (1730. 1735. 1745. 1750. 1760 [two]. 1765. 1770). Antigua (1740. 1765); Indies (1750); Georgia (1740); Charleston (1740. 1745); Surinam (1750. 1765); Curaçao (1750); Kingston (1750. 1760); Boston (1720); South Carolina (1730. 1740. 1745. 1760. 1775); St. Jago (1760); South America (1750); St. Kitts (1750. 1770); Santa Croix (1760); Saint Marys (1760); Honduras (1765); Annapolis (1740. 1770); Saint Eustatia (1770); New Bern (1770); Malta (1750); Saint Thomas (1760); Cayenne (1750); James River. Virginia (1730) and Esopus (1775).

34. *New-York Journal; or the General Advertiser*. 23 June 1770. 1 supplement. Similar reports of slave revolts on board ships may be found throughout the colonial period. See. for example. *New-York Weekly Journal*. 5 October 1735. 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia). 13 January 1730. 4; 9 August 1750. 2. The revolt. even though slaves murdered several whites. was not successful.

35. *Boston Evening-Post*. 13 August 1750. 2.

36. *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*. 7 July 1740. 2.

37. The Stono Rebellion took place in September 1739. Slaves. estimated at sixty to one hundred. fought whites after breaking into a store and stealing guns and ammunition. The Stono Rebellion will be discussed more fully later in the chapter. For a full discussion of the Stono Rebellion. see Peter H. Wood. *Black Majority* (New York: W. W. Norton. 1974). 314-23.

38. *Boston News-Letter*. 22 October 1730. 2.

39. The idea of a slave insurrection was always a concern for white colonists. but when accounts of rebellions mentioned the fact that blacks planned only to murder white males and keep white females for mating and marriage purposes. white hysteria was often raised even more. See. for example. *Essex Gazette* (Salem). 8 May 1770. 2.

40. H. Orlando Patterson. "The General Causes of Jamaican Slave Revolts." in *Slavery in the New World*. eds. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. 1969). 211-12.

41. The term "maroon" refers to the communities of escaped slaves that existed in the mountain and forest regions of Jamaica. Barbara Klamon Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1978): 287.

42. Patterson, "The General Causes of Jamaican Slave Revolts," 212.

43. *New-York Weekly Post-Boy*, 8 April 1745, 2; and *New-York Evening-Post*, 8 April 1745, 3.

44. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 12 April 1745, 2.

45. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 23 May 1745, 2.

46. *New-York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, 6 August 1750, 3.

47. *Boston Evening-Post*, 13 August 1750, 2 and *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 13 August 1750, 2.

48. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 August 1750, 2 and *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* 9 August 1750, 2.

49. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 5 September 1750, 2.

50. The noticeable omission by the *South-Carolina Gazette* of numerous slave revolt news items that appeared in many colonial newspapers will be discussed later in this chapter.

51. The story may have appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* like the Jamaican rebellion story of 1745, but the 1750 editions of the paper are no longer extant.

52. *New-York Evening-Post*, 6 August 1750, 3.

53. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 18 January 1740, 3; *South-Carolina Gazette (Charleston), 26 January 1740, 2; American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 4 March 1740, 2; *New-York Weekly Journal*, 10 March 1740, 1; and *Boston News-Letter*, 28 March 1740, 1.

54. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 June 1760, 2; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 5 June 1760, 3; and *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 19 June 1760, 1.

55. Part of the letter reported, "There were such Dissentions among them that several were killed in their own Quarrels." Since no trials for the rebelling slaves had yet been held, this type of news was grounded in rumor.

56. *Boston News-Letter*, 6 March 1760, 1.

57. *Boston Evening-Post*, 14 July 1760, 3; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 17 July 1760, 2; *Weyman's New-York Gazette*, 21 July 1760, 2; and *New-York Mercury*, 21 July 1760, 2.

58. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 10 July 1760, 3.

59. *Boston Evening-Post*, 24 November 1760, 2.

60. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 26 June 1760, 3.

61. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 1168.

62. *New-York Gazette*, 9 November 1730, 2. The *Gazette*'s information about the insurrection was obtained from a later and different source than that printed in other colonial newspapers. The other papers referred only to "an Account of a bloody Tragedy which was to have been executed here." *Boston News-Letter*, 22 October 1730, 2; *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 12 October 1730, 2; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 22 October 1730, 4.

63. *Boston Evening-Post*, 7 July 1740, 3; *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 7 July 1740, 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 26 June 1740, 3. Another suspected slave rebellion was uncovered in 1745, according to the *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 22 August 1745, 2. The news of this suspected slave revolt was not reported in Charleston either.

64. The information on the Stono Rebellion is taken from Wood, *Black Majority*, 314-23 and Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 192-95.

65. *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol 7, 397, 399, 386, quoted in Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 193-94, 195.

66. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 15 April 1745, 1.

67. *Boston Evening-Post*, 14 July 1740, 4.

68. *New-York Journal; or the General Advertiser*, 22 February 1770, 2.

69. Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 77.

70. *Boston Gazette*, 7 December 1730, 2.

71. *Boston Evening-Post*, 20 January 1755, 1.

72. *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, 10 February 1755, 3.

73. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 22 March 1744-45, 1.

74. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 11 March 1734-35, 2.

75. *Boston News-Letter*, 10 June 1706, 4.

76. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 31 July 1735, 2.

77. *North-Carolina Magazine: Or Universal Intelligence* (New Bern), 4 January 1765, 3.

78. *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, 1 July 1765, 3.

79. *Massachusetts Gazette* (Boston), 19 July 1770, 2.

80. *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 21 July 1735, 3; and *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 7 August 1735, 3.

81. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette: or the Baltimore General Advertiser*, 28 November 1775, 2; and *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Dixon and Hunter), 2 December 1775, 3.

82. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 24 July 1735, 4; *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 4 August 1735, 1; and *New-York Gazette* 4 August 1735, 3.

83. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 4 June 1730, 4.

84. *Boston Evening-Post*, 12 November 1750, 1.

85. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 29 August 1750, 3 and 19 December 1750, 3; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 8 April 1745, 2.

86. See, for example, Ibid., 10 October 1750, 2 and 20 March 1755, 3.

87. Although the dates of the newspapers consulted are outside the time parameters of this study, see Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 76, for more on slaves and arson.

88. Joshua Coffin, *Slave Insurrections* (New York: American Anti Slavery Society, 1860), 11-13.

89. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 27 August 1730, 3.

90. *Boston Evening-Post*, 28 January 1760, 3.

91. *Boston News-Letter*, 9 February 1707-08, 2

92. *Weekly Rehearsal* (Boston), 4 August 1735, 2; *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 4 August 1735, 4; *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 14 August 1735, 3; *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 2 September 1735, 2; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 20 September 1735, 2.

93. *Boston Evening-Post*, 7 July 1755, 4.

94. Ibid., 25 August 1755, 3.

95. Ibid., 21 July 1755, 1.

96. See, for example, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 18 July 1750, 2.

97. *Boston Evening-Post*, 16 September 1745, 4.

98. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 4 June 1730, 4.

99. *Boston Evening-Post*, 11 August 1755, 4; *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, 11 August 1755, 3; *Connecticut Gazette* (New Haven), 16 August 1755, 3; *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, 18 August 1755, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 18 August 1755, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 21 August 1755, 3; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 21 August 1755, 2; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 28 August 1755, 2.

100. *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 26 July 1750, 1; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 2 August 1750, 2.

101. *New-York Mercury*, 14 July 1755, 2.

102. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 July 1750, 2; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 5 July 1750, 2; and *Boston Evening-Post*, 9 July 1750, 4.

103. A. G. Roeber, "Authority, Law, and Custom: The Rituals of Court Day in Tidewater Virginia, 1720 to 1750," *William and Mary Quarterly* 37 (1980): 49-50. According to Roeber, slaves and the lower ranks of society could feel a part of communal affairs, at least in Tidewater, Virginia, through participation in court day.

104. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 24 February 1735, 2.

105. Elkins, *Slavery*, 49 note 33; Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States*, 303; Peter Charles Hoffer, *Law and People in Colonial America* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 91.

106. This conclusion is affirmed by Hoffer, *Law and People in Colonial America*, 91. Hoffer, in looking at colonial court records discovered that slave owners were tried for murder in Virginia after beating slaves to death.

107. *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 21 January 1755, 2; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 13 February 1755, 2.

108. Hoffer, *Law and People in Colonial America*, 92.

109. *Boston Evening-Post*, 10 March 1755, 1.

110. Quoted in Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial America, 1620-1776* (New York, 1942), 60.

111. *Essex Gazette* (Salem), 19 June 1770, 2.

112. *Boston Evening-Post*, 11 August 1755, 4; *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 11 August 1755, 3; *Connecticut Gazette* (New Haven), 16 August 1755, 3; *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, 18 August 1755, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 18 August 1755, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 21 August 1755, 3; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 21 August 1755, 2; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 28 August 1755, 2.

113. David A. Copeland, "Covering the Big Story: George Whitefield's First Preaching Tour, News Manipulation, and the Colonial Press," paper presented at the American Journalism

Historians Association annual conference, Lawrence, Kansas, 1992, 22. Suppression of news in the *South-Carolina Gazette* took place. The government did imprison Elizabeth Timothy briefly in 1741 for printing a letter attacking the Anglican clergy of the colony. The announcement of the arrest was made in the *Gazette*, 15 January 1741. Elizabeth Timothy followed by her son Peter, by the government of South Carolina may have also involuntarily suppressed news of the Stono Revolt and other slave activity, too.

114. Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 17-19.

115. *Boston Evening-Post*, 24 November 1760, 2.

116. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 1168.

CS

Visible Hand: The Journalistic Drive to Incorporate a Frontier

by

David J. Vergobbi

Assistant Professor
Department of Communication
LCB 103
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, UT 84112
801-581-3294

E-mail:
djv9740@u.cc.utah.edu
or
david.vergobbi@m.cc.utah.edu

Submitted to:

American Journalism Historians Association
Annual Meeting
Roanoke, VA
October 1994

Visible Hand: The Journalistic Drive to Incorporate a Frontier

ABSTRACT

This paper is a case study of how the actions of editors contributed to the societal transformation of their community, which in turn, transformed their journalistic style and agenda. It tracks the interrelationships between the Wallace Free Press and four socio-economic catalysts (development capital, mining technology, transportation/communication facilities, and labor) that would rapidly transform North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district society of 1887-1889 from a pioneer self-sufficiency to the corporate dependency of a wage workers' frontier.

While numerous works consider the economic boosterism and permanency crusades of earlier agricultural and mining frontiers, no study specifically analyzes such activities within the wage workers' frontier concept. The Free Press, while representing a final blush of frontier-style journalism in the United States, more importantly exemplified that moment of transition, instigated by rapid societal upheaval, that captured the first evolutionary step of journalism from the partisan frontier press to an emerging Western independent commercial style. As such, it reveals a key to understanding the complex journey Pacific Northwest editors faced when corporatization thrust isolated settlements into early industrialism.

Visible Hand: The Journalistic Drive to Incorporate a Frontier

Colonel William R. Wallace handed John L. Dunn the dollar, bent over the table, and signed their agreement. Dunn watched him, thinking how simple acts change a person's life, for he knew his own signature began a long overland journey from Portland, Oregon, to the Coeur d'Alene mining fields of North Idaho (see map). But Dunn did not know the deceptive course he was about to lay for himself and his brother Alfred.

In exchange for one dollar, a rent free office, and six months patronage, Dunn agreed on May 28, 1887, to purchase a printing press and publish a newspaper to promote the "general welfare of the town of Wallace, Idaho, the mining operations...and the camps of the Upper South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene river," which, in turn, promoted the sale of land Wallace claimed title to.[1] After signing, Dunn shook the Colonel's hand and sealed the brothers' future as publicists for a land swindler.

Whatever the Colonel's personal agenda, his timing was propitious. He brought the first newspaper to Wallace as the deep, rich South Fork veins of galena silver-lead ore erased the unfulfilled dreams of North Fork gold country. While prospectors soon discovered nearly all the silver-lead mines that have since made the South Fork district famous,[2] the most significant fact was that these mines produced right from the surface and a few month's work revealed large underground ore bodies -- ore bodies that only the proper development capital, mining technology, transportation/communication facilities, and labor could exploit

-- four catalysts that would help transform Coeur d'Alene society from a pioneer self-sufficiency to the corporate dependency of a wage workers' frontier.[3] By 1889, transformation was nearly complete and transient mining camps became permanent company towns.[4]

This paper tracks the interrelationships between these four catalysts and the Coeur d'Alene press. Although six papers circulated through the Coeur d'Alenes during the 1887-1889 period, the only surviving copies are from the Dunn brothers' Wallace _Free Press_.[5] The Dunns' journalistic agenda was economic growth; promotion their contracted community role. Thus news items concerning development capital, mining technology, transportation/communication facilities, and labor carried a dual purpose: report the event, but in a style that enhanced the Coeur d'Alenes' investment status. The brothers also practiced a political partisanship that eventually led to positions as civic and political leaders. The paper is a case study of how the actions of two editors contributed to the societal transformation of their community, which in turn, transformed their journalistic style and agenda.

Much historiography encourages us to see the concepts "frontier" and "wage work" as mutually exclusive. Urbanization, industrial development, and a labor pool supposedly evidenced that a region's frontier phase had passed.[6] Yet, the classic pioneer West and the early industrial West frequently overlapped, "and one such conjunction was the wageworkers' [sic] frontier.... [a] predominately male community of manual labor dependent upon others for wages in the extractive industries of the sparsely settled

Rocky Mountain and Pacific regions."[7] This concept provides a framework for exploring an era in transition.

While numerous works consider the economic boosterism and permanency crusades of earlier agricultural and mining frontiers,[8] no study specifically analyzes such activities within the wage workers' frontier concept. The Dunn's Wallace Free Press, while representing a final blush of frontier-style journalism in the United States,[9] more importantly exemplified that moment of transition, instigated by rapid societal upheaval, that captured the first evolutionary step of journalism from the partisan frontier press to an emerging independent commercial style.[10] As such, it reveals a key to understanding the complex journey Pacific Northwest editors faced when corporatization thrust their isolated settlements into early industrialism, a sudden transition that broadened their perspective almost over night from local to regional and even national concerns.

Corporate Overture

Coeur d'Alene mine owners faced three costly problems that drove them to corporate partnership. First, the need to mechanize their underground mines, for extraction "demanded hoisting, pumping, drilling, and tunneling."[11] Second, the need for smelting and refining. Complex low grade Coeur d'Alene ore resisted amalgamation and had to be heated and chemically or mechanically treated to separate commercially valuable metals from less marketable companion metals. Third, the need to reduce the ore's bulk, permitting economical transportation to those distant smelters.[12]

These problems made large-scale business inevitable, for only corporate organization "had the capital and the business skills requisite to turn a barren frontier into an industrial citadel."[13] Indeed, lead-silver mining "demanded the corporation. Gradually, one by one, the Coeur d'Alene lead-silver mines were bought up and developed by corporations."[14] The corporation offered mine owners distinct advantages like limited liability, the right of stock assessment, and a greater flexibility for absorbing the financial risks of expanding mining operations. Plus, listed on a stock market, the corporation could quickly raise capital.[15]

The corporation also had far-reaching social effects, for many mines controlled many non-mining activities in their region. The Bunker Hill mine, for example, opened a boarding house for employees in October 1887.[16] Company stores, company medical facilities, and company wage-scrip soon followed. Similar conditions arose as corporations purchased other mines, and relations between employer and employee irrevocably changed.[17] Worker/owner "mutuality of interest," individual decision-making, self-control of personal destiny, the ability to resolve differences on a person-to-person basis lost out to corporate control as absentee mine owners replaced local prospector/owners.[18] Miners and labor negotiators were soon caught between local management with limited decision-making authority and the increasing profit demands of distant owners and shareholders unaffected, or unconcerned, by local conditions.[19] Speed of transition from prospecting to producing economy and rapid economic growth in a single industry arena further destabilized the Coeur d'Alene social climate.[20]

Such was the atmosphere that bred the Free Press. An atmosphere that structured the newspaper's intent and purpose.

A Point of Permanence

Centrally located amidst the galena-rich tributaries of the Coeur d'Alene River's South Fork, between the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe mountain ranges, on the primary road linking Missoula, Montana, with Spokane Falls, Washington, and the eventual terminus of east and west railroad lines, Wallace, Idaho, became the South Fork's business, transportation, and political center. To exploit this geographic advantage, townsite founder Colonel William R. Wallace sought a newspaper to promote land sales and enhance the region's business aspects.[21] John L. Dunn and his brother Alfred J. Dunn answered the call.

The Dunns arrived in Wallace with a Washington hand press and began the first Wallace, and second South Fork newspaper, The Free Press, on July 2, 1887.[22] Colonel Wallace enticed the brothers from the Portland (OR) News and Morning Oregonian by promising six months' free rent and a guaranteed $1800 in ad patronage from local business.[23] John and Alfred, originally from Missouri and aged twenty-seven and twenty-five, immediately stated their journalistic philosophy and personal goals:

> ...no better way is known to place before the outside world the resources of a new section than through the columns of a local press. That THE FREE PRESS will benefit every branch of industry represented here, and in time prove a good investment to those directly interested, is the belief of the publishers; nothing more is necessary to explain the appearance of a new business in a new camp.[24]

The Dunns went right to work. Physically, the four-page, six-column Free Press presented the same face its entire two-year run. Page one carried local lead stories plus numerous national and international reports clipped from newspapers across the nation and two columns of advertising. Page two's local, regional, national, and international editorials reflected the Dunns' conservative, but active, politics. With a stated independence, they became more immersed in partisan politics than prior district editors, even if "a live mining town [discussed] political questions less than...slower moving communities."[25] J. L. Dunn, for example, eventually became chairman of the Shoshone County Republican Committee and mayor of Wallace and the Free Press became the party organ.[26] Page two also carried three columns of advertising. Page three began with a political directory of territorial and county officials and judges then offered social, literary, and entertainment stories for the district's increasingly family-based society, usually clipped from newspapers and magazines across the country, plus three more columns of ads. The back page, the most local in content, presented district news and three columns of ads.

The Dunn brothers prided themselves on producing a "home town" newspaper from writing and editing to typesetting and printing. They condemned the use of pre-set stereotype plates or patent as cheap column fillers that "look like reading matter" but would not fool readers.[27]

The Dunns' converted their "home grown" determination into an editorial responsibility by stating that "[m]atters of local interest demand attention above all things else...[so]... Everything tending to the development of the Upper South Fork will be duly considered in these columns."[28] This economic agenda prompted its own journalistic style. The Dunns did more than simply report local interest events, their presentation of those events implied a Coeur d'Alene of progress, permanence, and potential. When mining successes, land availability, mail service, new mining technology, annexation to Washington Territory, and the coming railroads came to dominate Free Press columns, they did so as a statement to investors that the district equalled opportunity.

The Dunns' journalistic style revealed its economic intent. Created at that moment when capital began to trickle, then pour, into the Coeur d'Alenes, the Free Press became its champion and claimed that the "dark days of its early settlement drove the aimless vagabonds from her camps, and in their place came men with a purpose and means to mature it [into] the grandest mining section of the great Northwest."[29] The Free Press supported all capital investment and its outcome -- development of the Coeur d'Alenes -- by assuming a civic role of community promoter. And it wasted no time. The first issue proclaimed a partisan intent adhered to throughout the paper's two-year run, its "ambition and aim" to represent the interests of the South Fork and Wallace.

To entice capital, and land buyers for Colonel Wallace, the Dunns promoted the concepts of permanence and opportunity -- the idea that the Coeur d'Alenes were not the boom and bust mining situation of old, but that the mineral resources beneath those mountains promised long-term prosperity.[30] The Dunns maintained this permanence promotion throughout their newspaper's run, as in early 1888 when they proclaimed that "progress from now on must be of a permanent and substantial nature" and that the Coeur d'Alene mines "are sufficient to place this among the great mining districts of the West" with Wallace its business center.[31]

By the start of their second year, the Dunn brothers claimed the "whole section has moved forward" and reported that no business enterprise had yet failed. They then revealed a "liberal" source of income and support from both Coeur d'Alene business men and residents and proclaimed that as "the country advances THE FREE PRESS will improve."[32]

For the Dunns, community support went beyond advertising and subscription revenues. If Coeur d'Alene citizens doubted their own promotional duties, for instance, the Free Press supplied instructions, which also indicated its editors' intention to reach readers -- and potential investors -- outside the mining district. "Send a copy of THE FREE PRESS to your friends," said the Dunns, "Copies can be procured at the office, wrapped ready for mailing, for 10 cents each [because]...signs of prosperity are seen on every side [and the] boom is sure to come.[33]

As part of the contract that created the newspaper, local businessmen also contributed to outside distribution and publicity by purchasing extra subscriptions to "broadcast over the United States."[34] That the Free Press reached outside readers, and that those readers recognized the Dunns' promotional efforts, is seen in numerous reprinted letters.[35]

The Dunn's permanency crusade also brought attention to the unusual year-round mine production schedules in place by late 1888. Again they included a subtle plea toward non-local, and perhaps potential investor, readers as "More Mines will Work and Far More Business will be Done than in Any Previous Year."[36] This new work schedule, tied to underground lode mining unencumbered by seasonal change, exemplified the Dunns' use of technology as a banner to rally investors to the Coeur d'Alenes. For capital investment came tied to technological need. Surface placer mining had played out and the Dunn's understood that the region's economic existence depended on securing mining technology and transportation that would ensure cost-effective lode-based production:[37]

> Mine owners will feel the direct benefit of sampling works, from the fact that they furnish a ready market for their ores. The exchange of ore, in large or small quantities, for money, will enable hundreds of men to develop good properties and meet the expense as the work progresses. Mines now forced to be idle will thus become producing. Indirectly the benefit will be felt by all. The product of the country is turned into money and this added to the circulating medium, which reaches, in some quantity, every branch of industry.[38]

Transportation also presaged communication and in front page editorials the Dunns castigated the U. S. Post Office Department for failing to provide due service. Yet, even in discussing a situation that "is an absolute loss of money to men in business," the Dunns still presented a progressive interpretation:

> The population of the entire upper section is increasing rapidly; long ago it justified mail service....The new mail route should be extended without delay....Every enterprise is moving forward, but a regular mail service comes no nearer....[39]

So readers need not rely solely on Free Press reports, the Dunns also provided "EXPERT OPINION" to promote the Coeur d'Alene district, as in February 1888 when Professor J. E. Clayton addressed "The Great Silver-Lead Region of the South Fork and Its Output." Clayton believed that the mines of Canyon creek, Nine Mile creek, and Mullan would increase the market output of Coeur d'Alene ore by $3,500,000 annually.[40] Other "experts" offered similar reports.[41]

The Dunn brothers carried this positive, promotional style to their final issue of June 22, 1889, where they continued to push the district's expanding technological development writing that the "effect of the meeting of railroad magnates in Portland [OR] last Monday seems favorable to Coeur d'Alene in that it promises to give us a standard gauge railroad as soon as it is possible to build it."[42] Technology, in fact, led by the railroad, opened the Coeur d'Alenes to its prosperous future. And the Free Press provided the welcome mat.

Hail the Railroad

To make their low-grade ore mines pay, owners had to find a constant labor source, mechanize their production, reduce the bulk ore for transport, then smelt and refine out the impurities. These business and technological steps depended on economical, efficient, reliable transportation. In 1884, the U. S. Geological Survey reported that railroads provided the answer.[43] Three years later, North Idaho proved it. Without railroads, the Coeur d'Alenes would not be opened.[44] With railroads, the district produced some seven million dollars in silver from 1887 to 1891 and even more lead.[45] By 1891 Coeur d'Alene mines employed 3,000 miners and the top eight mines produced nearly 320 tons of ore each day, worth over $25,000.[46] Railroads were the technology that made Coeur d'Alene mining cost effective and thus possible.

Daniel Chase Corbin, Coeur d'Alene railroad magnate and mine investor, admitted he built the first railroads for one reason alone, the mines.[47] The primary need was a direct connection between mines and smelter. Corbin's plan involved a three-part route to carry ore by rail from Wallace to the Mission landing, by lake steamer to Coeur d'Alene City, and finally by his Spokane Falls & Idaho Railway to meet the Northern Pacific main line at Rathdrum, Idaho.[48]

By July 1887 Corbin's narrow gauge Coeur d'Alene Railway & Navigation Company reached Wardner. While there is no evidence that railroads subsidized Coeur d'Alene newspapers, the Dunn brothers did recognize the economic urgency of the lines and sensed the great promotional opportunities. Accordingly, the newly opened Free Press flushed with anticipation for the time when "it will be a pleasure instead of a hardship" to travel to and from the Coeur d'Alenes and when the district "will be in easy communication with the outside world and...freight can be landed... at a low rate and within a reasonable time." The advantages of the railroad, said the Dunns, "will give an impetus to business unfelt before. It will cause [Wallace] to be the shipping point for a large section of country, rich in minerals."[49]

The coming railroad preoccupied South Fork residents. The Free Press started running news of the planned "CELEBRATION" in early September. The Dunns then dedicated half their October 1, 1887, front page to recounting the previous day's arrival of the first train into Wallace, concluding that the "first attempt of the people of Wallace to celebrate an important event may...be set down as a complete success." But while the celebration succeeded, so did a court injunction delaying the second train for a month.

The Union Pacific Railroad, through the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, took control of the Washington & Idaho Railway in autumn 1887, although legal ownership did not transfer until May 1888.[50] Meanwhile, the Northern Pacific, which assumed legal control of Corbin's Spokane Falls & Idaho Railway on October 1, 1887, considered the CR&N its line to the Coeur d'Alenes.[51] As the Union Pacific's W&I built toward Wallace, in September 1887 it enjoined the Northern Pacific's CR&N from operating over 1.5 miles of track laid on the W&I survey line through Wallace. The month-long delay after years of awaiting rail service caused the Dunns to lash out at the rival railroads in front page editorials presented as straight news reports. And, characteristically, they did it with a business-first attitude:

> The people are the main sufferers by this detention....The doubt and uncertainty caused by the stoppage of work have prevented that activity in various enterprises which would otherwise have been felt....Very large interests are at stake in this matter. The delay has already proved very damaging. We hope it has little longer to continue.[52]

The first train in over a month reached Wallace the following Wednesday.[53]

With D. C. Corbin's Coeur d'Alene Railway a reality, the Dunns resumed their campaign for branch lines into Wallace. They viewed branch railroads as economic life lines, as keys to economic progress and development. They understood the importance of Burke's seven mile long Canyon Creek Railway and wanted to provide other mine owners the same opportunity, an opportunity that would benefit all aspects of the Coeur d'Alene economy. The Free Press thus pushed for branch lines from other mine-filled canyons, for "with a railroad...owners of these monstrous mines are confident that they can spend a natural life time in working these without what might be termed unnecessary expense in hoisting machinery."[54] And the Dunns saw Wallace as the hub of that rail transportation.

Similarly, when the Washington & Idaho Railroad finally obtained its long embattled right of way across the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation in October 1887, and when the Northern Pacific began building between Wallace and Mullan the following month, the Dunns' hailed the "glorious news for the people of the Coeur d'Alene."[55] In their typical mix of front page report/editorial, they predicted another boom for Wallace:

> It becomes more evident every day that Wallace is to be a railroad center....Let our people see that the necessary ground is furnished. If it requires a little outlay the payment will be tenfold.[56]

Again, though no evidence suggested any railroad subsidy of the Free Press, the railroads had set the stage for Coeur d'Alene prosperity and the Dunn brothers immediately put them to use. From the start, the Dunns made railroad access the prime selling point of their Wallace and South Fork promotional campaign. They began by dispelling one of the Coeur d'Alenes' lingering negatives, isolation, by claiming that "within a few years, possibly months, no producing district, however isolated at present, will lack the means of transporting its precious metals to a profitable market...[and] the fullest prosperity [will] be realized."[57] Over the next two years, in fact, the Dunns offered "Various News Items Indicative of Progress" that touted the South Fork's potential based on railroad service. And they paid special attention to Wallace with its prime terminus location, for [t]wo transcontinental railroads...[and four] branch roads will all center at Wallace" making it the Future Great of [the] Coeur d'Alene."[58]

The cost-effective rails carried other vital technology into the Coeur d'Alenes that accelerated this "improvement," which further transformed the district from pioneer to early industrial society. With "machinery... arriving daily," the Dunns were quick to report rumor or fact of any impending enterprise from new concentrating mills and sampling works to shipping docks, mining equipment, and talk of local ore smelters and refineries.[59] The railroad also prompted a new communications network in May 1888 by permitting use of its right of way for a telephone connection to the outside world.[60] Linkage to national transportation and communication systems became the attraction the Free Press anticipated. Capital now moved quickly into the district and the ensuing development attracted a skilled work force.

Labor, land, and loyalties

Coeur d'Alene lode mines were labor intensive from their outset and, by 1887, with the railroads' help, the district attracted a growing worker pool. Miners from Montana, Colorado, and California, who journeyed north only to make valueless claims, remained to work for those who struck bonanzas. "Owner and laborer lived side by side as easy comrades for a brief period when the camp was new. Their concord quickly dispelled, however, as absentee owners bought the better mines."[61] Labor and capital would never reconcile.

That the Dunn brothers chose to defend the rights of capital and economic progress became explicit in their second generation newspaper, the Wallace _Coeur d'Alene Miner_. But antecedence lay in their _Free Press_ -- indicators that their deepening pro-business attitude would, of necessity, produce an anti-union bias.

The Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine precipitated the first labor/management battle in summer 1887 when it reduced wages for underground workers from the western standard of $3.50 per 10 hour day to $3.00 for miners and $2.50 for car men and shovelers, the difference being the company's estimate of skill and danger involved in each job. The miners refused to accept the situation and struck the mine. Since local labor was still relatively scarce, the Bunker soon abandoned the reduction for miners, but refused to pay car men and shovelers more than $3.00, a wage scale that became the district standard.[62] "Then," wrote Edward Boyce, first president of the Western Federation of Miners in 1893 and Wardner resident since 1886, "the miners saw that it was necessary to protect themselves against another reduction, and, on November 17, 1887, organized the first union of workingmen [sic] in the county, since known as the Wardner Miners' Union."[63]

On this, and future, labor/owner confrontations, the Dunns remained silent. No reports on wage reductions, no reports on unionization. Their first mention of local union activity appeared five months later on April 7, 1888 -- a page four news brief that announced the organization of a Wardner Miners' Union. The Dunns did not ignore labor, they just did not concern the Free Press with local **organized** labor and the reasons that provoked it. On November 12, 1887, for instance, the Free Press reported "A MINERS' STRIKE [was] PROBABLE" in Nevada City, California.[64] The Dunns made this California labor confrontation front page news. Yet, they ignored the exact same scenario of their own struggling Coeur d'Alene miners.

The Dunns' editorial position on Chicago's Haymarket riot of 1886 provides insight into their perspective on local labor. First, with ironic placement, they ran the Nevada City strike story beneath a first column headline that announced **"FOUR ANARCHISTS HUNG"** in Chicago.[65] Second, the Dunns ignored, or perhaps did not realize, that labor called the Haymarket Square meeting to protest the previous day's police brutality that killed four workers and wounded many others during a peaceful strike demonstration against scabs at the McCormick Harvester factory. Third, the Dunns instead espoused the side of capital and attacked the anarchism believed inherent in the labor class:[66]

> The hanging of the anarchists met approval from three-fourths of the American people....The legal execution of these men will have a wholesome effect on that class which advocates the overthrow of all law.[67]

The Dunns' acceptance of labor "anarchists" tied into and reflected the "outside agitator myth" promoted by Coeur d'Alene mine owners and mining company managers who, "rather than acknowledging that conditions in the industry caused discontent...blamed union 'agitators' for stirring up men who were satisfied with working and living standards."[68] This anarchy myth, used by capitalists throughout the late nineteenth century, distorted Coeur d'Alene mine management's attitudes toward labor for decades.[69] Committed to capital's cause, the Free Press used and perpetuated the myth to capital's benefit.

And the Dunns were committed to capital interests in a number of ways. First, a professional obligation: Local businessmen contracted them to promote economic growth, "the aim of the publishers to...represent the interests of the Upper South Fork ....[and] benefit every branch of industry represented here," which included the Dunns' own expanding business interests.[70] Free Press business support could be quite direct, as when texts ads, for example, instructed locals of their civic duties: "Always patronize home institutions....where you can get work equal in every respect to that obtained in larger cities."[71] Second, a political tie: While professing political independence, the brothers practiced Republican doctrine in print and in service -- the party of choice for businessmen and mine owners.[72] Third, a civic/government connection: County print jobs and advertising supplemented their business advertising and subscription revenues.[73] Thus, for personal and professional reasons, the Dunns chose to report events in a style that enhanced the Coeur d'Alenes' economic attractiveness. Unpleasant, negative publicity from socio-economic conflict did not fit a newspaper designed to promote the business potential of a burgeoning new industrial arena. So the Dunns reported labor from a positive perspective.

Numerous reports detailed, for instance, the progressive aspect of increased employment in district mines. The Dunns' presentation of news -- pro-business emphases, lack of conflict -- evidenced the promotional intent behind Free Press journalism. To the Dunns, for example, rising employment figures reflected growth and permanence. Their labor-related news briefs served to update business activities and display the intensity of interest and success in the Coeur d'Alenes. Even when speaking of labor, the Dunns projected a subtle economic message to possible investors:

> The Tiger Mining company have only twenty-nine men employed in the mine, including timbermen, and are getting out 100 tons of ore daily, showing this to be one of the easiest properties in the country to work.[74]

An 1889 land scandal eventually tested the Dunns' ability to interpret events as positive business news, for the scandal threatened to invalidate the fledgling district's most vital and tentative commodity, a trustworthy reputation. The Free Press based its journalistic agenda, and thus integrity, on a style that campaigned for and promoted the region's growing stability and permanence -- a campaign founded on Colonel W. R. Wallace's townsite company. The Dunns claimed that the townsite patent was "the main inducement" for local businesses to commit to the district because the business men believed the townsite "would bring others" and "make their present investments profitable."[75] When word broke that Colonel Wallace, the very person who brought the Free Press to town, perhaps did not own the land he sold in the town of Wallace and its environs, people, especially outsiders, began to question the region's -- and by implication the newspaper's -- honesty and legitimacy.

The trouble began on February 19, 1889, when news reached the Coeur d'Alenes that the U. S. secretary of the interior invalidated Colonel Wallace's June 1886 title to the Wallace townsite because he purchased it with nontransferable scrip the federal government issued to Native Americans as compensation for taking away their lands. The federal government considered Colonel Wallace's Native American scrip as void, that the government canceled the Colonel's townsite location on January 24, 1887, and that the government notified Colonel Wallace by February third. The Colonel, however, never informed his customers.[76]

From their first issue, which debuted five months after the federal government informed Wallace it canceled his townsite location, the Dunn brothers based their contracted relationship with Colonel Wallace on trust. They ran his townsite ads and they plugged his business, never realizing the irony of their statements. "A perfectly clear and direct title is given upon transfer of all building lots," they wrote. "This is of importance when it is considered how much trouble sometimes occurs in towns built on unsurveyed government land."[77]

When the scandal broke, the Dunns accepted the federal government's decision and sided with the claim jumpers, stating it was an American right to locate the public domain. Reaching for sympathy, Colonel Wallace retaliated swiftly, publishing letters in the Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun and the Spokane Falls Chronicle that defended his position and vilified the jumpers and their "organ," the Free Press.[78] He sent a similar article to the western, and eastern, Associated Press offices.[79]

The Free Press reprinted the letters as front page news, with rebuttal, over the next two issues. The Dunns "realizing that every case, however plain, should be heard on both sides" tried to interview the Colonel, who "stated that he had nothing to say to the public." The Dunns then defended the "so-called jumpers," identifying them as the businessmen of Wallace who far "from being robbers, far from composing a mob," shared credit for building the town. The brothers also clarified their grievance against the Colonel:

> We have never questioned that the Sioux scrip was bought in good faith; that the land was located in good faith. But it was not sold in good faith.[80]

The Dunns finally defended themselves, stating they owed "no debt of gratitude to Colonel Wallace." Starting the Free Press was purely a business arrangement, they said, and one fulfilled honorably on their part.[81]

Meanwhile, the Colonel filed thirteen suits against Wallace citizens for jumping townsite land.[82] And his Associated

Press dispatch began to pay off. News of lot jumpings spread throughout the nation.[83] The Dunn brothers, however, believed the A. P. release was "SLIGHTLY EXAGGERATED" and considered the increasing coverage a potential harm to the Coeur d'Alenes' future.[84] In an article clearly addressed to an out-of-region audience, the Dunns tried to channel negativism by reinforcing Colonel Wallace's duplicity and reemphasizing the rights of American citizens "to locate the public domain." Interested in damage control, the brothers rhetorically transformed the claim "jumpers" into "the relocators of the townsite" who acted correctly with "justice and fairness, and [who] are not, as is claimed by some, a hungry horde of renegades and robbers." To prove their validity as honest citizens who contributed to the town's advancement, the article listed the alleged jumpers, which, with one exception, included all the business houses of Wallace.

This single article, appearing over two months after the news first broke, presented the events, animosities, attacks, defenses, and rebuttals of the land scandal in a manner that made it a moral triumph of citizen over swindler. And, by showing the "jumpers" were just, the article, by extension, exonerated their organ, the Free Press.[85]

Eighteen months later, long after Colonel Wallace left the state, three months after the Dunns started their second Wallace newspaper, and one month after fire destroyed the city of Wallace, news arrived that the federal government ruled against Colonel Wallace's appeal in the townsite case. The decision vindicated the Free Press's moral, legal, economic, and personal choice of business over loyalty to their original patron.

Conclusions

As the Coeur d'Alenes reached toward industrial maturity, an early corporate industrial structure began to overlap the original pioneer society, which, by 1889, produced a transitional "wageworkers' frontier."[86] Five years had indeed altered the Coeur d'Alenes. Perhaps the most dramatic indicator came from two Idaho territorial governors. In October 1884 Governor William M. Bunn reported the Coeur d'Alene district had "neither roads nor trails."[87] Five years later, Governor George L. Shoup informed the secretary of the interior that the South Fork area alone was producing "a cash value of $9,030,000...a clear profit of from $25 to $30 per ton...[and] that another two years will double the number of mills and the production of ores and concentrates."[88]

Shoup then informed the secretary that "in consequence of this great output of mineral wealth," a number of flourishing towns sprung up, some of which would "quickly assume metropolitan proportions" when the railroads arrived -- railroads that would "greatly increase" mining production and "encourage the full development of the thousand valuable mining prospects now lying dormant."[89] On December 9, 1889, Shoup's optimism became reality when the Union Pacific Railroad, beneath the Washington & Idaho banner, arrived in Wallace overland from Spokane Falls. The standard gauge W&I soon took over most of the freight and passenger travel going west but even the combined railroads could not furnish enough ore cars to handle the increasing production.

Like many frontier real estate promoters before him, W. R. Wallace conceived a newspaper to promote this burgeoning corporate-economic atmosphere, and the Dunn brothers took that cause to heart.[90] The Dunns' Wallace Free Press championed the goals and dreams of the Coeur d'Alenes' pro-development business contingent. Its economic agenda prompted a journalistic presentation of events that implied a Coeur d'Alene of progress, permanence, and potential. The Dunn brothers did this by emphasizing all positive aspects of a given local news event and by either restructuring negatives into positives or by simply ignoring negatives.

But the Dunns' booster/business role deviated from earlier frontier newspapers in that its community was by 1889 firmly established as an early industrial or wage workers' frontier.[91] This altered the Dunns' journalistic agenda for, instead of aiming "at the needs of some future community for which they desperately hoped," which sometimes confused vision with reality, the Free Press aimed at the known needs of an existing community.[92] The Free Press thus became physically and editorially a more sophisticated newspaper than the earlier agricultural and mining frontier papers. While commerce and population on the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River did precede its newspapers, for instance, the community proved nothing but a boom destined for quick demise. Wallace on the South Fork, in contrast, began under similar circumstances then quickly grew to permanence as a central transportation hub when the underground mines proved rich and economical to develop. The town's geographic location assured its future.

Understanding this, the Dunns' Free Press became more than just a frontier community booster intent on attracting capital and a particular labor force. It answered the rapid restructuring of Coeur d'Alene society by enacting commercial press characteristics consistent with coastal metropolitan newspapers: concentrating on local issues; providing territorial, regional, and national political and economic news interpreted through a local framework and application; seeking reforms and taking moral stands (e.g. the townsite battle); and reflecting a "proto-progressive" value system, most notably a commitment to public interest consumerism, an obsession with commercial order and harmony, and a growing faith in organizational modes of conflict resolution.[93] The Dunns interpreted the Haymarket situation, for example, as an attack on the public peace instigated by outside agitators. By investing in the region themselves through a variety of business and civic enterprises, the Dunns also lived their progressive beliefs, which blinded them to growing labor tension/activity and eventually made them strong pro-mine owner/management advocates. The Free Press revealed these tendencies. A continuation study of the Dunns' second paper and four other area newspapers show the result.[94]

Yet the Dunns delivered these commercial press characteristics with a political partisanship and business bias that would have made any frontier editor proud. The Dunns' Free Press, in fact, exhibited all three levels of political journalism discernible in the frontier press.[95] Besides its partisan role as county Republican newspaper, by publishing court reports, political party meetings, town meetings, county business updates, territorial government reports, etc., the Free Press "played a primary role in establishing and transplanting laws and customs to the West in building new governments."[96] The Dunns, finally, were able to turn their published party loyalty into the ultimate step of becoming political or civic leaders, John, for example, as county Republican chairman and later mayor of Wallace.

That a newspaper displayed booster and pro-business tendencies or attended primarily to local events or that an editor engaged in partisan political activities or championed a cause, is nothing new. That one newspaper combined all these aspects in the late nineteenth century is, however, significant, for it breaks from accepted journalism history.

This historic anomaly was a product of the wage workers' frontier. As the catalysts of development capital, mining technology, labor, and transportation/communication facilities began to transform Coeur d'Alene society, they also induced and made possible a journalistic transition. Where the earlier agricultural and mining eras -- and the North Fork gold placer camps -- relied on the mail and, occasionally, riders for outside news, for example, the silver town of Wallace was eventually linked by rail, telegraph, and telephone. Adapting to their rapidly evolving society affected the style and character of the Dunns' journalism, separating it from earlier western frontier newspapers and pushing it toward the contemporary market-oriented developments of a primarily eastern metropolitan press. Indeed, the Wallace Free Press was the beginning of Coeur d'Alene journalism's evolution toward a hybrid style that displayed characteristics of **both** press eras, a wage workers' frontier style significant in its ability to detail why and how American journalism made such a transition.

Notes

[1] Wallace, Idaho Territory, Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1, 2. The Dunn's first published on July 2, 1887.

[2] For detailed reports on each Coeur d'Alene mine see: J. L. Brice, "The Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho," Mining 12:3-4 (September-October 1903); John M. Henderson, William S. Shiach and Harry B. Averill, An Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai and Shoshone Counties (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Co. 1903).

[3] Carlos A. Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wage Workers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," Western Historical Quarterly (January 1987): 39-55.

[4] In the five years following the discovery of galena on the South Side, 1884 to 1889, six mining camps grew up to achieve post offices and relative permanence: Wardner (Bunker Hill & Sullivan, Last Chance, Sierra Nevada, and Stemwinder mines), Osburn (group of small mines including the Polaris), Wallace (no large mines but location at confluence of Nine Mile, Canyon, and Placer Creeks with the South Fork made it a trading and transportation center), Gem (Gem, Frisco, Black Bear, and Badger mines), Burke (Tiger and Poorman mines), and Mullan (Morning, Gold Hunter, Evening mines).

[5] Wardner News (June 1886-1900s); Wallace Free Press (July 1887-June 1889); Burke Independent/Galena (July 1888-January 1889); Murray Coeur d'Alene Record (November 1885-May 1889); Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun (July 1884-1900s); Mullan Tribune (April 1889-1900s). Four issues from March 1889 of Adam Aulbach's North Fork area Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun are available on microfilm.

[6] The classic basis for this interpretation rests with Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of the Frontier in American History (New York: Frederick Ungar 1963); The Significance of Sections in American History (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1933). For journalistic example see: James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co. 1923); Willard G. Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1927); Robert L. Housman, "The End of Frontier Journalism in Montana," Journalism Quarterly Vol. 12 (1935): 135-136, 141; Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument (N.Y.: Macmillan 1947 [1937]); Frank Luther Mott American Journalism, A History 1690-1960 (N.Y.: Macmillan 1962); Oliver Knight, "The Frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (April 1967): 74-81; David Fridtjof Halaas, Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1859-1881 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1981); Edwin Emery and Michael

Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:Prentice-Hall 1984). More recent journalism historians extend the frontier period to 1890 and 1900, respectively: Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press 1992); William E. Huntzicker, "The Frontier Press, 1800-1900," in Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James D. Startt (eds.), *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed. (Scottsdale: Publishing Horizons, Inc. 1993).

[7] Schwantes, "The Concept," p. 41.

[8] For example see: Cloud; Huntzicker; David Fridtjof Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1981); Thomas H. Heuterman, "Assessing the 'Press on Wheels': Individualism in Frontier Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (Autumn 1976): 423-428; Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House 1965): 125-128.

[9] V. Delbert Reed, "A Last Hurrah for the Frontier Press," *American Journalism* 6 (1989): 65-84. While Reed considers the very same Wallace *Free Press*, discovering that it did carry general characteristics of the frontier press, he did not expand beyond identifying the presence of those characteristics. His problem was in leaving Coeur d'Alene mining journalism as simply the "last hurrah." But those papers did not completely escape the influence of a burgeoning eastern big-city, market-based commercial journalism. Yet Reed ignored such elements -- elements that pointed to a frontier journalism in metamorphosis.

[10] For general discussion of late 19th century commercial journalism see: A. M. Lee; Mott; Emery & Emery; Gerald J. Baldasty, "Modern Industrialism, the Press and News in Late 19th Century America." Paper presented at the West Coast AEJMC Convention, 1985; Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1992); Baldasty & Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspapers: The Business Environment of Press Partisanship in the Late 19th Century," *Journalism History* 15:23 (Summer/Autumn) 1988: 60-69; Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1989); Don Pember, *Mass Media in America*, 5th ed. (Chicago: Social Research Associates 1987); David Paul Nord, "The Business Values of American Newspapers: The 19th Century Watershed in Chicago," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (1984): 265-273; George Everett, "The Age of New Journalism, 1883-1900," in Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt (eds.), *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed. (Scottsdale: Publishing Horizons, Inc. 1993).

[11] Richard H. Peterson, *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1991): 88.

[12] "Without the aid of metallurgical processes, carried on in a scientific manner and aided by large capital, the greater bulk of the ores that have been reduced within the last decade would never have been extracted from their rocky beds." U. S. Geological Survey, Mineral Resources of the United States (Washington, D.C.: GPO 1892): 48-9. The development of chlorination and the cyanide process in the 1890s permitted even greater proportions of metal to be extracted from the ores. See Otis E. Young, Jr. Western Mining: An Informal Account of Precious-Metals Prospecting, Placering, Lode Mining, and Milling on the American Frontier from Spanish Times to 1893 (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press 1970): 283-286.

[13] Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books 1969): 22. Also see Stanley S. Phipps, From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table: The Tumultuous Struggle of the Coeur d'Alenes Miners for the Right to Organize, 1887-1942 (New York: Garland 1988): 7-9.

[14] Robert W. Smith, "The Idaho Antecedents of the Western Federation of Miners--Labor Organization and Industrial Conflict in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District of Idaho, 1890-1893," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1937): 46-50, 7. From 1887 to 1890, the major producing Coeur d'Alene mines were purchased and controlled by incorporated investment syndicates often headed by "eastern capitalists" from Youngstown, Ohio, Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Paul, Chicago, and New York. Other investors hailed from Butte, MT, Portland, and San Francisco. Colonel W. R. Wallace claimed that Portland investors "in reality...never had a word of cheer for the miners here until capital from the East and returns from the [smelting] works at Wickes and Omaha made the proposition a surety." Wallace Free Press, 17 May 1888, p. 1, c. 2. See: D. P. Ballard, Washington Territory and the Far Northwest. Oregon, Idaho and Montana. A guide... (Chicago: Ballard & Co. 1889): 12; William N. Bischoff, "The Coeur d'Alene Country, 1805-1892: An Historical Sketch." In David A. Horr (ed.), Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians, I (New York: Garland 1974): 237-249; Joseph G. Butler, Jr., History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley, Ohio, 3 vols. (New York: n.p. 1921): II, 51 (qtn.); Nelson W. Durham, History of the City of Spokane and the Spokane Country, Washington, 3 vols. (Spokane: S.J. Clarke Co. 1912): I, 389, 439; John Fahey, "The Milwaukee-Youngstown Connection: Midwestern Investors and the Coeur d'Alene Mines," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly (April 1990): 44-45. Names of Youngstown syndicate members appear in Amasa Campbell letters in the Eastern Washington State Historical Society archives, Spokane, [Ms 39]. Jerome A. Watrous (ed.), Memoirs of Milwaukee County from the Earliest Historical Time down to the Present, 2 vols. (Madison: n.p. 1909): II, 994-996; John G. Gregory, History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 4 vols. (Chicago:

1931): IV, 36-37, 39-40; Campbell joined John A. Finch as agent for Youngstown investors; Simeon Gannett Reed--William H. Crocker--John Hays Hammond agreement on assignment of Bunker Hill & Sullivan stock, March 14, 1891, typescript, Reed Papers concerning the purchase, operation, and sale of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan properties, 1887-1892, Reed College Library, Portland, OR; Some east coast money found its way to the Coeur d'Alenes, but the great investment houses of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia shied away from the volatile district. There is "a feeling by outside capitalists that there is likely to be a repetition of labor troubles...and they prefer to invest in districts where this danger is not likely," explained John A. Finch, agent for Youngstown investors, Wallace, ID. Coeur d'Alene Miner, 14 January 1893; Major New York money did not reach North Idaho until 1903 when Rockefeller organized the Federal Mining and Smelting Company, later dealt to Guggenheim in 1905, John Fahey, The Ballyhoo Bonanza: Charles Sweeney and the Idaho Mines (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1971): 170-184. Territorial Governor George Shoup, however, reported in 1889 that some "New York capitalists" and "[a]nother company of Eastern men" had invested in North Fork placer claims, Report of the Governor of Idaho to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office 1889): 46.

[15] Peterson, p. 91. Peterson stated that "The situation was different in the East. The financial demands of organizing a business did not yet require the assets of countless small investors. The corporate device seldom was necessary for recruiting capital. Most industrial concerns were owned by relatively few individuals. In 1896, only twenty industrial companies listed their shares on the New York Exchange." See John Garraty, The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890 (New York: Harper & Row 1968): 97.

[16] Reed Papers, vol. 25, pp. 33, 41.

[17] The social effects of corporate control are exemplified by the company boarding house in Phipps, pp 5-9; Walker De Marquis Wyman, Jr., "The Underground Miner, 1860-1910: Labor and Indstrial Change in the Northern Rockies." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle (1971): 27-31; Thomas O'Brien interviews, Spokane Review, 13 May 1892, and Anaconda Standard, 29 May 1892. Social effects are also documented by Robert Wayne Smith, The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892 (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press 1961): 3-5, 17-19; Henderson et al., pp. 996-997.

[18] See discussion of this transformation regarding "mutuality of interest" in American industry in general, in Irwin Yellowitz, The Position of the Worker in American Society, 1865-1896 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall 1969). Robert H. Blank explores the concept of self-determination and individualism in

Idaho territorial frontiersmen in *Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture* (Washington D. C.: University Press of America 1978): 22-28; and *Individualism in Idaho: The Territorial Foundations* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press 1988): 33-43, generally. Also see David L. Norton, *Personal Destinies: A Philosophy of Ethical Individualism*, Chap. 5 "The Metaphysics of Individualism" (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1976).

[19] See Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1958): 92-93; Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890-1905," *Labor History* 7:2 (Spring, 1966): 133-139; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 22-23; Wyman, pp. 25-27, and generally.

[20] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845-1889* (San Francisco: The History Co. 1890): 752n, 755n, 769; Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880* (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1963): 68-69; Mancure Olson, Jr., "Rapid Growth as a Destabilizing Force," *Journal of Economic History* 23 (December 1963): 529-552; and Carter Goodrich's commentary of same, 553-558; Schwantes, "Wage Workers' Frontier," generally.

[21] Promoting land sales was a common motivation for town founders to subsidize newspapers, see Boorstin, pp. 128, 134. Placer Center became Wallace when Colonel Wallace's wife Lucy listed the U. S. Post Office in the name of Wallace. Richard G. Magnuson, *Coeur d'Alene Diary: The First Ten Years of Hardrock Mining in North Idaho*, 2nd ed. (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort 1983): 22. There is no information that explains Wallace's title of "Colonel."

[22] Adam Aulbach established the Wardner *News* in June 1886.

[23] Henderson et al., p. 1211. Dunn's printing contract reprinted in Wallace *Free Press*, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1, 2. That the Dunns previously worked for the Portland *News* and *Oregonian*, Wallace *Free Press*, 16 July 1887, p. 1, c. 4. For an interpretation of the *Free Press* as frontier newspaper, see Reed, "Last Hurrah."

[24] Wallace *Free Press*, 2 July 1887, p. 2, c. 1.

[25] Wallace *Free Press*, 2 July 1887, p. 2, c. 1.

[26] Wallace *Free Press*, 14 April 1888, p. 1, c. 3; Wallace *Press*, 14 May 1892, p. 1, c. 5.

[27] Wallace *Free Press*, 18 February 1888, p. 2, c. 1; 31 December 1887, p. 2, c. 1. Ready-print was a service that

provided two, four, or other multiples of pages of material without much timeliness that were printed at a central plant then the sheets of imprinted newsprint, with some space left blank, were shipped to country publishers who then printed the remaining pages from type set in their own shops. This enabled the weekly editor to produce a paper with more pages and a more varied, far-ranging content. The boiler plate generally came in one-column width and in various lengths suitable to fill holes which might be left by insufficiency of type set in the home plant. For the history of stereotype or ready-print or patent plates in American journalism see: Elmo Scott Watson, History of Auxiliary Newspaper Service in the United States (Champaign, IL: Illini Publishing Co. 1923) and A History of Newspaper Syndicates in the United States, 1865-1935 (Chicago: n.p. 1936); Eugene C. Harter, Boilerplating America: The Hidden Newspaper (Lanham, MD: University Press of America 1991).

[28] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 2, c. 1.

[29] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 1, c. 1.

[30] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 1, c. 1, 5; 23 July 1887, p. 2, c. 2.

[31] Wallace Free Press, 11 February 1888, p. 1, c. 3.

[32] Wallace Free Press, 30 June 1888, p. 2, c. 1.

[33] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 4, c. 1.

[34] Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1. Letter written by W. R. Wallace originally published in Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun, 1 March 1889.

[35] As in this letter from the Butte, Montana, Inter-Mountain: "...THE FREE PRESS....is a most clean and creditable little sheet, in which the people take a just pride. Its mission is to call attention to the surrounding mineral wealth, and it is admirably succeeding in the good work. The Coeur d'Alene newspapers are marvels of enterprise." The Butte, Montana, Inter-Mountain, William Reed, Editor-in-Chief. Letter reprinted in Wallace Free Press, 12 November 1887, p. 1, c. 3.

[36] Wallace Free Press, 27 October 1888, p. 1, c. 4.

[37] "The major technological developments in mining operations from 1860 to 1910 were the steam hoist, dynamite, machine drills, square-set timbering, and the use of electricity for power. Because of these, low-grade ores could be profitably extracted, veins deep within mountains could be economically worked." Wyman, pp. 15-16.

[38] Wallace Free Press, 16 July 1887, p. 1, c. 3.

[39] Wallace Free Press, 23 July 1887, p. 1, c. 2-3.

[40] Wallace Free Press, 18 February 1888, p. 1, c. 1.

[41] Wallace Free Press, 12 May 1888, p. 4, c. 4; 30 June 1888, p. 4, c. 2.

[42] Wallace Free Press, 22 June 1889, p. 4, c. 4.

[43] "The opening of the Western mines may be regarded as the direct result of the rapid extension of the railroads in the Rocky moun-tains, cheapening the cost of suitable fuel and the shipment of the product." Mineral Resources of the United States (Washington D.C.: GPO 1883-84): 325.

[44] Wyman, p. 21, reported: "What the railroad meant for a mining district was illustrated in the Wood River district in Idaho in the latter 1880s: it was reported that only high grade ores could be worked, "high freight rates keeping mines with low-grade ore in the background." During the same decade, the Niwot mine in Boulder County, Colorado, underwent a sharp change of fortunes when the railroad arrived; ores which were unprofitable to work in 1881, when owners gave up and shut it down, were worth 30 per cent more and could be extracted profitably after the railroad arrived, it was reported in 1888." Also see Blank, Individualism, pp. 18-19; F. Ross Peterson, Idaho: A Bicentennial History (Caldwell, ID: Caxton 1976): 102.

[45] Mineral Resources of the United States (Washington D.C.: GPO 1892): 71-72; Territorial Governor George L. Shoup, p. 45, claimed the combined silver and lead output reached $9,030,000 in 1889 alone.

[46] Wallace Press, 9 January 1891, p. 1, c. 1.

[47] Spokane Spokesman-Review, 8 Nov. 1908, sec. 5, p. 1, c. 5.

[48] Henderson et al., pp. 995, 997; Shoup, pp. 13-14; John V. Wood, Railroads Through the Coeur d'Alenes (Caldwell, ID: Caxton): 13-14, 16-24. Incorporators included D. C. Corbin, Sam T. Hauser, A. M. Holter, Anton E. Esler, S. S. Glidden, Jim Wardner, and James Monoghan (co-owner of the Coeur d'Alene townsite), most of whom invested in the Bunker Hill & Sullivan's first 100-ton concentrator. Magnuson, pp. 28-29, reported that Corbin contracted the Willamette Iron Works of Portland, OR, to build the lake steamer. The NP took over the SF&I in October, 1887, and the CR&N in October, 1888.

[49] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1888, p. 1, c. 3.

[50] Shoup, p. 13; Wood, p. 26.

[51] Shoup, p. 13; Wood, p. 26. The NP took legal control of the CR&N October 1, 1888. Wallace Free Press, 1 September 1888, p. 4, c. 2.

[52] Wallace Free Press, 22 October 1887, p. 1, c. 4. Also see 5 November 1887, p. 1, c. 1.

[53] Wallace Free Press, 5 November 1887, p. 1, c. 1.

[54] Wallace Free Press, 1 September 1888, p. 1, c. 1. The brothers actively campaigned for rail extension to canyons like Nine Mile and Canyon Creek (Burke, Gem) that fed Wallace, a campaign they continued their entire run for the "prosperity of Wallace is dependent largely upon it." Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1888, p. 1, c. 3; 7 April 1888, p. 1, c. 3.

[55] Wallace Free Press, 27 October 1888, p. 1, c. 4.

[56] Wallace Free Press, 17 November 1888, p. 1, c. 4.

[57] Wallace Free Press, 9 July 1887, p. 4, c. 1.

[58] Wallace Free Press, 22 November 1888, p. 1, c. 1.

[59] For example: Wallace Free Press, 16 July 1887, p. 1, c. 3; 10 September 1887, p. 1, c. 2; 12 May 1888, p. 4, c. 4 (quote); 7 July 1888, p. 2, c. 3; 9 March 1889, p. 1, c. 3-4; 30 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[60] Wallace Free Press, 19 May 1888, p. 1, c. 3.

[61] Fahey, Ballyhoo, p. 68.

[62] "The Reply of the Unions," Spokane Review, 27 March 1892; Edward Boyce, "The Crime of the Century...Full Account of the Idaho Infamy by the President of the Federation of Western Miners," 56th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. doc. 25 (Washington, DC: GPO 1900): 1-2.

[63] Boyce, p. 2. There is, in fact, no consensus as to exactly when workers formed the pioneering Wardner Miners' Union. The April 7, 1888, Free Press account is the only contemporary primary source. Thomas O'Brien, Coeur d'Alenes Miners' Union president, 1892, claimed November 3, 1887, in a May 27, 1892, affidavit filed before the U. S. Circuit Court in and for the District of Idaho, civil case 7, Coeur d'Alene Mining and Concentrating Co. v. Wardner Miners' Union (1892) [Now 7-N, Federal Records Center, Seattle, WA]. Also in 1892, the Central Miners' Union stated that the Wardner Union was formed "[i]mmediately after this [summer 1887] reduction in wages." "The Reply of the Unions," Spokane

Review 27 March 1892; Job Harriman agreed in The Class War in Idaho. The Horrors of the Bullpen. An Indictment of Combined Capital in Conspiracy with President McKinley, General Merriam and Governor Steunenberg, for their Crimes Against the Minors [sic] of the Coeur d'Alenes, 3rd ed. (New York: The Volks-Zeitung Library 1900; Seattle: Facsimile reproduction, The Shorey Book Store 1966): 2; Writing in 1899 (and submitted as congressional testimony), Western Federation of Miners president Ed Boyce stated November 17, 1887, as formation day. Boyce claimed first-hand knowledge, being a Shoshone county resident since 1886, pp. 1-2.

[64] The one paragraph story explained that mines reduced their wages by fifty cents per day for newcomers. Veteran miners notified the "strangers" to quit working for lower wages because reduction "of wages in this mine means reduction in all others, and the miners say they will oppose all efforts in that direction." Mine owners, meanwhile, assured newcomers protection from anarchic unionists.

[65] Wallace Free Press, 12 November 1887, p. 1, c. 1.

[66] Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Volume II: From the Founding of the American Federation of Labor to the Emergence of American Imperialism (New York: International Publishers 1955): 105-114.

[67] Wallace Free Press, 19 November 1887, p. 2, c. 1.

[68] Phipps, pp. 10-11. F. R. Culbertson, owner/manager of Burke's Tiger mine, revealed that Coeur d'Alene mine owners did subscribe to the idea of agitators: "Were it not for the few agitators who infest the camp, and who not only commit lawless acts themselves (which are a disgrace to the community and an outrage upon the liberties of law-abiding citizens) but draw others into them who are opposed to such things, but dare not assert their opinions concerning same, for fear of incurring the enmity of organized labor,--we would have one of the best and most prosperous camps in the west." This account was published in an early history of Idaho, F. R. Culbertson, "The Coeur d'Alene Mining District, The Lead Belt of the Coeur d'Alenes," in John Hailey, History of Idaho (Boise, ID: Syms-York Co. 1910): 431-438.

[69] Foner, p. 107; Phipps, p. 11.

[70] Wallace, Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 1, c. 1; p. 2, c. 1; 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1, 2: to promote the "general welfare of the town of Wallace, the mining operations...and the camps of the Upper South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene river." The Dunns had business interests beyond printing, including mining investments by the early 1890s, Magnuson, p. 96; Henderson et al., p. 1058.

[71] Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 4, c. 1.

[72] The Dunn brothers were involved in town, county, and state politics including: the Shoshone county Republican committee elected J. L. Dunn temporary chairman, which soon became a permanent position, as did the paper's party partisanship, Wallace Free Press, 14 April 1888, p. 1, c. 3; A. J. became Wallace postmaster in October, 1889, and J. L. was later elected a town trustee in April, 1892, then mayor of Wallace. Magnuson, pp. 74, 184.

[73] Commissioners' Journal, Shoshone County, Idaho Territory, Book C: January 10, 1888, printing; April 9, 1888, advertising; December 16, 1888, printing; April 8, 1889, advertising. All the local camps supported the Free Press: 31 December 1887, p. 2, c. 1: "...The general progress of the past few months has fulfilled the prophecy of those who said the time was at hand when the interests of the Upper South Fork should be represented and when the journal which fairly performed the task would meet with the support it merited....From the first issue THE FREE PRESS has lived and fairly prospered upon legitimate patronage and nothing more....Each month has brought a slight increase of business. The outlook for the future is encouraging ....THE FREE PRESS has endeavored to represent with fairness and reliability the resources and development of the silver-lead district of the Coeur d'Alene, and with appreciative thankfulness it acknowledges a liberal patronage from every camp in that district."

[74] Wallace Free Press, 12 May 1888, p. 4, c. 4. Other examples include: 5 November 1887, p. 4, c. 1; 12 November 1887, p. 1, c. 3; 24 December 1887, p. 4, c. 1; 30 June 1888, p. 4, c. 4; 30 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[75] Wallace Free Press, 9 March 1889, p. 1, c. 2.

[76] Ruling by the commissioner of the general land office as reprinted in Henderson et al., pp. 1026-1027; Magnuson, pp. 60-63, 102, 156-157; Wallace Free Press, 9, 16, 30 March; 13, 27 April, 1889.

[77] Wallace Free Press, 2 July 1887, p. 1, c. 5.

[78] Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun, 1 March 1889, p. 1, c. 4. Reprinted in Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1; Spokane Falls Chronicle, 1 March 1889, as reprinted in Wallace Free Press, 9 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1. W. R. Wallace letter to Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun reprinted in Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[79] W. R. Wallace letter to Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun reprinted in Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[80] Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 1-2.

[81] Wallace Free Press, 16 March 1889, p. 1, c. 2.

[82] Magnuson, pp. 156-157, reported that the cases came up for trial at Rathdrum, ID, in September, 1891, (after Colonel Wallace requested a change of venue) two and one half years after they were filed. Neither the Colonel, who had long since left the area, nor any other Wallace Townsite Company representative appeared. The judge dismissed the cases.

[83] The Chicago *Tribune*, for instance, mentioned it in a March 1, 1889, editorial.

[84] Title of Dunns' editorial that reprinted Spokane Falls A. P. agent's version of story that found national release, Wallace *Free Press*, 16 March 1889, p. 2, c. 1.

[85] Wallace *Free Press*, 27 April 1889, p. 1, c. 2-3.

[86] Schwantes, p. 41.

[87] "There were no mining supplies of any kind in the camp. Those who had sufficient food and shelter had every reason to consider themselves fortunate. Until May there were none of the necessary appliances for successful mining, and it was a piece of rare good luck when a pick and shovel could be obtained." In William M. Bunn, *Report of the Governor of Idaho, Made to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1884* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office 1884): 6.

[88] Shoup, p. 45.

[89] Shoup, pp. 44-45.

[90] Boorstin, p. 128.

[91] The earlier Rocky Mountain mining frontier, for instance, was primarily comprised of boom town gold rushes and few developed into permanent silver-lead or copper based industrial centers. Those societies and needs differed from the rapidly developing Coeur d'Alenes. See Halaas; Warren J. Brier, "A Newspaper for Montana Miners," in Warren J. Brier and Nathan B. Blumberg (eds.), *A Century of Montana Journalism* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press 1971): 27-40. Likewise, while Pacific Northwest agriculture was commercial- as well as subistence-based from its beginning in the late 1840s, it did not develop into a wage workers' frontier until the late 1870s and 1880s when the railroads began to arrive, Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1989): 148-161, 166, 25-265.

[92] Boorstin, p. 127.

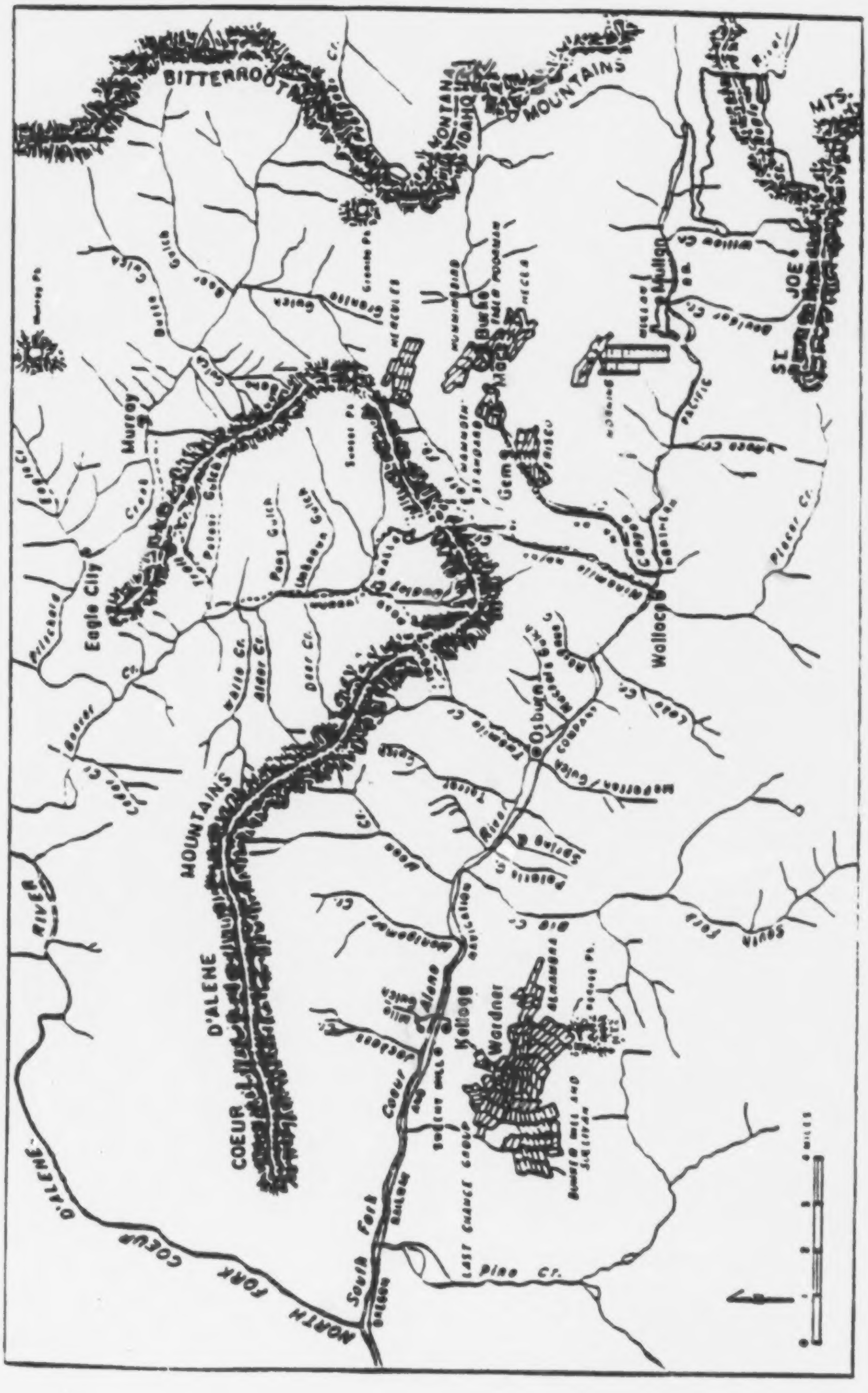
[93] See note 10. "Proto-progressive" refers to Nord, "Business Values."

[94] June 22, 1889, marked the Dunn's final issue of the Wallace Free Press. One year later, Alfred and John Dunn re-entered journa-lism with Wallace's second newspaper, the Coeur d'Alene Miner. The other four papers, 1890-1892: Wallace/Wardner Coeur d'Alene Barbarian, Wallace Press, Osburn Coeur d'Alene Statesman, Mullan Tribune. David J. Vergobbi, "Hybrid Journalism: Bridging the Frontier/Commercial Cusp on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, Chapter IV: Clouds of Violence, 1890-1892," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1992.

[95] Heuterman, pp. 424, 427-428.

[96] William H. Lyon, The Pioneer Editor in Missouri. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 1965): 165.

MAP 1 - Coeur d'Alene Vicinity: Mine Locations.


BITTERROOT
MOUNTAINS
MONTANA
IDAHO
ST. JOE MTS.
COEUR D'ALENE MOUNTAINS
Murray
Eagle City
Burke
Gem
Mullan
Wallace
Osburn
Kellogg
Wardner
NORTH FORK COEUR D'ALENE RIVER
South Fork
Coeur d'Alene
Pine Cr.
Placer Cr.
Big Cr.
Granite Gulch
Prichard Cr.
Eagle Cr.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CS

THE LEO FRANK CASE AND THE POST-CONVICTION PRESS
1913-1915

By: Jill J. Cohen
1545E Coleman Road
Knoxville, Tennessee 37909
Graduate Student
University of Tennessee
College of Communications
School of Journalism

Submitted to:
American Jounralism Historians Association
April 19, 1994

THE LEO FRANK CASE AND
THE POST-CONVINCTION PRESS
1913-1915

Abstract

In the spring of 1913, a fourteen-year-old white girl was found brutally murdered in the basement of the National Pencil Company factory in Atlanta, Georgia. Leo M. Frank, the factory superintendent, was tried, convicted and eventually lynched for the crime.

Interest in the Frank case has never waned. Decade after decade, historians, journalists, lawyers and sociologists have analyzed the case in order to show, conclusively, that Frank was innocent. The corrupt legal system that existed in 1913 Atlanta has been scrutinized. Southern attitudes regarding crimes against white women have been discussed. Anti-semitism in Georgia is at the heart of many studies of the case. The actions and role of the press have been examined, but only in relation to other aspects of the case.

From the time the victim's body was discovered until the end of the trial, Frank was a much maligned victim of the Atlanta press and its decision to sensationalize the crime. Bias, prejudice and yellow journalism ran rampant in stories about Leo Frank. Local public sentiment against Frank was agitated by the press. By the end of his trial, however, Atlanta's mainstream press had come to realize that Frank had not had a fair trial and that he might, in fact, be innocent.

The case achieved unprecedented notoriety when the nation's press demanded justice for Frank. Through articles and editorials, the press worked to convince the citizens of the nation that Frank had been convicted by mob rule and not by any solid evidence against him. Georgia's justice system was put on trial through the press of the nation.

The purpose of this paper is to examine local press reaction to the crime and the response of the nation's press after Frank's conviction. To this end, the role of the press as a persuasive entity, historically, is addressed. While those in political power in Georgia tried to undermine and prejudice Frank and his supporters, the post-conviction press became a vehicle, nationally, for attempting to correct the injustices in the case as it passionately tried to save the life of Leo M. Frank.

THE LEO FRANK CASE
AND THE POST-CONVICTION PRESS
1913-1915

THE ATLANTA PRESS
APRIL 1913-AUGUST 1913

On Sunday, April 27, 1913 at 3:30 in the morning, the body of a young white girl was discovered by the night watchman in the basement of a pencil factory in Atlanta, Georgia. Mary Phagan, a fourteen-year-old worker in the factory, had been murdered. Two murder notes, in which she allegedly identified her killer, were found near her body. Leo M. Frank, the factory superintendent, had paid Mary her wages the day before and was allegedly the last person to see her alive.

A reporter from the *Atlanta Constitution* was on the scene when the body of Mary Phagan was first examined by the police. Britt Craig had been sleeping in a police car parked outside the station and was taken along for the ride. After examining the scene and the murder notes, he knew he had stumbled upon a story that could make his career as a reporter (Golden, p. 19).

The *Constitution* lost no time in producing an elaborate front page, devoting five columns to the story of the dead girl in its April 28, 1913 edition. One headline claimed that the murder had occurred on Sunday. Referring to the photographs covering the top of page one, it stated, "Pretty Young Victim of Sunday's Atrocious Crime And the Building in Which She Met Her Death."

On April 28, 1913, the *Georgian* put Mary Phagan on pages one, two, three and four. They also published her picture with a caption that claimed she had been seen on the streets of Atlanta at midnight, just hours before the discovery of her body, with a man of unknown identity. One story was full of flowery prose, geared to make readers feel intense grief for the dead girl. It read, in part:

> "In the room where Mary Phagan was attacked and paid out her young life to the brutality of her assailant, across the floor where her limp form was dragged, down the stairs and down through the trap door into the dirty basement where her body was found . . ." (p. 1).

Because so little was known about the crime, and with no arrests in sight, Atlanta's press began to print anything that would keep readers' interest in the crime alive (Dinnerstein, p. 11). The April 29, 1913 edition of the *Georgian* contained a story which described pictures of nude women hanging on the factory walls of the National Pencil Company. In truth, one calendar hung on the wall of Frank's office with the picture of a smiling girl. The reporter, however, went so far as to invent an admission by Frank that the factory was a house of ill repute (p. 4 as cited in Golden, p. 44).

Four days of newspaper hysteria followed the discovery of Mary Phagan's body. The Mayor of Atlanta cautioned the police not to leak the details of the investigation to the press (Dinnerstein, p.15). Complaints were filed regarding the sensational nature of the newspaper extras. In its May 1, 1913 edition,*The Savannah Morning News* printed that the papers of the city were "calculated to inflame the people and might possibly result in grave damage." (p. 1).

In his article "Hearst Comes to Atlanta," published in the January, 1926 edition of H. L. Mencken's *The American Mercury,* Herbert Asbury wrote that the murder of Mary Phagan allowed the *Georgian* to develop "the greatest news story in the history of the state, if not of the South." (p. 89). According to Dinnerstein, "Screaming streamers and banner headlines appeared on 'extra' after 'extra' as the factory girl's death received the full Hearst treatment . . . The *Georgian* had inaugurated its dramatic handling of the case with twenty 'extras' and five pages of pictures and stories about Mary Phagan and her family." (p. 13).

The *Constitution* went so far as to demand action by the police. In its April 29, 1913 edition it was stated, "If ever the men who ferret crime and uphold the law in Atlanta are to justify their function it must be in apprehending the assailant and murderer of Mary Phagan." (p. 4).

On April 29, 1913, Leo M. Frank was arrested on suspicion of murder. Seven others had been arrested for involvement in the crime, including the night watchman, Newt Lee. Six were released almost immediately. Only Frank and Lee remained in custody. The Governor of Georgia had ten companies of state militia in readiness to protect Newt Lee and Leo Frank from violent mobs (*Savannah Morning News,* May 1, 1913, p. 1).

Whether in opposition to one another or acting in concert, both the police and the press were responsible for much of what happened to Leo Frank from the time of the murder until the time of his conviction. Stories in the papers, and a trumped-up investigation by the police were sufficient to have the citizens of Atlanta convinced that Frank was guilty of the crime (Golden, p. xv).

Supporting this contention is a letter written by Luther O. Bricker, pastor of the First Christian Church of Bellwood, Georgia, the church Mary Phagan had attended. Thirty years after the murder, Bricker's letters became an article titled " A Great American Tragedy" which appeared in the April 1943 edition of the*Shane Quarterly*. His comments were indicative of both an irresponsible press and a corrupt police force, and read in part:

> "From that day on the newspapers were filled with the most awful stories, affidavits and testimonies, which proved the guilt of Leo M. Frank beyond a shadow of a doubt. The police got prostitutes and criminals, on whom they had something, to swear anything and everything they wanted them to swear to. And, reading these stories in the paper day by day, there was no doubt left in the mind of the general public but that Frank was guilty. And the whole city was in a frenzy." (p. 90).

Of the three Atlanta dailies, the *Georgian* had taken the lead when it came to the worst kind of sensationalism. In 1913 Foster Coates was editor of the *Georgian*. He knew that even from her grave Mary Phagan would sell newspapers for at least one week (Golden, p. 45). In fact, "by the end of August the *Georgian* had tripled its normal sales of about 40,000 papers a day, and it boasted the largest circulation of any Southern daily paper through 1913 (Dinnerstein, p. 13). In "Hearst Comes to Atlanta" Herbert Asbury wrote:

> "Foster Coates [the editor] made a blunder when Frank was accused of the crime and taken to police headquarters. He put an extra on the street, of course -- and wrote a banner line for it which said without qualification that the strangler had been arrested! The type was even larger than we used when we tried to convince the citizenry that there was news when there was none. The line was a blunder of the sort that is made every day in newspaper offices, but it had far-reaching consequences." (p. 45).

The *Georgian* had set a disastrous course for the three dailies, all of which were more concerned with selling papers. Each was determined to scoop the others. This did not bode well for Leo Frank from the time of the murder until his conviction. The press had become an investigative body outside the lines of its ethical responsibility to its readership.

In his book *A Little Girl is Dead* Harry Golden summed up the position of the press stating:

> "So the worst thing that can happen to a man under suspicion of murder, the worst thing that can happen to a police force, the worst thing that can happen to duly elected officialdom had happened: The newspapers had taken over. The reporters were competing with the cops, uncovering stories before the detectives, hoarding "scoops," improving on them for their readers.The reporters were no longer in the front row of the audience; they were the stage managers." (pp. 44-45).

Leo M. Frank was indicted for the murder of Mary Phagan on May 14, 1913 (Dinnerstein, p. 20). His trial began on July 28, 1913 in an Atlanta courtroom filled with outraged citizens. Outside the courthouse mobs gathered everyday to show support for the prosecution.

An Associated Press figure of more than two-thousand was reported in the August 26, 1913 editions of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat,* the Columbia, South Carolina *State, Chattanooga Daily Times,* Raleigh, North Carolina *News & Observer,* and *The Birmingham Age-Herald.* The New York *Call* estimated five thousand (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 191, note 46). Screams of "Hang the Jew," were not uncommon. (Dinnerstein, p. 192, note 58). "In fact, the temper of the crowd surrounding the courthouse was so ugly that twenty officers guarded the courtroom, and someone suggested, as a further precaution, that spectators be searched for dangerous weapons before entering the building." (Dinnerstein, p. 37).

Based on trumped-up charges of perversion, manufactured evidence, mob rule and the statements and testimony of a Black factory sweeper named Jim Conley, Leo M. Frank was convicted on August 26, 1913, just four weeks after the trial began (Woodward, pp. 376-77).

THE POST-CONVICTION PRESS
(1913-1915)

During the months following Frank's arrest and through the trial period, most press coverage regarding the crime was confined to the Southern states. However, after his conviction, when the press outside the South began to examine the case, it became an issue of national concern.

At the core of the post-conviction press coverage was a belief, grounded in certainty, that Frank had been convicted by mob rule, not by any legitimate evidence against him (Frey, p. 61). However, racial issues were also involved in the conviction. In "The Great American Tragedy," Pastor Luther O. Bricker wrote:

> "My feelings, upon the arrest of the old negro night watchman,were to the effect that this one old negro would be poor atonement for the life of this innocent girl. But, when on the next day, the police arrested a Jew, and a Yankee Jew at that, all of the inborn prejudice against Jews rose up in a feeling of satisfaction, that here would be a victim worthy to pay for the crime." (*The Shane Quarterly,* IV, April, 1943, p. 90).

While the issue of conviction by mob rule was of prime importance legally, the case was also the first to create a national issue concerning Blacks and Jews. The Southern press had been aware that Frank's conviction had been based, significantly, on the testimony of a black man. However, the nation's press took the issue back to the crime itself. "To the question: Did Frank, a Jew, kill a Christian girl or did Conley, a black, kill a white girl, the national newspapers focused on the latter." (Frey, p. 61). *The New York Times* defined Conley as a "black monster," a racist characterization that would find its way into the *Baltimore Sun, Chicago Times* and Washington *Post* (Frey, p. 61).

Although it was believed that Frank's conviction rested primarily on the testimony of a Black man, an unheard of occurrence in the South at the time, most commentaries on the subject admit to being speculative at best when stating an explanation.

From the facts available, it is clear that Conley was arrested several days after the murder and held in a cell. Once the police learned that Conley could write, and once they compared his writing to the notes found by Mary Phagan's body, a comparison that could have proven his guilt, his importance to the prosecution soared (Dinnerstein, 22). Rather than releasing Frank, and charging Conley with the crime, a charge which probably would have resulted in Conley being lynched, they would use the Black man to convict the Jew (Dinnerstein, 24).

After providing the police with the statements they wanted, and that could be used to convict Frank, an affidavit "by Conley" was put together and released to the press (Dinnerstein, 24). Conley was then kept in a cell, fed well, shaved and cleaned up, and sent to court in a new suit of clothes (Dinnerstein, 40). Again, although speculative, Conley had three months to memorize "his" testimony. When he testified during the trial, he spoke the words of the white men who coached him.

It is also possible the jury would have convicted Frank without considering Conley's testimony at all. Frank's guilt was determined by the citizens of Atlanta long before the trial. "As Edmund M. Morgan, co-author of *The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti,* observed, 'every experienced judge and every experienced lawyer know [that] it is almost impossible to secure a verdict which runs counter to the settled convictions of the community'. " (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 59).

After Frank's conviction, press coverage and editorials were extremely supportive of him, and highly derogatory of Conley (Frey, p. 61). Blacks, on the other hand, perceived that white America was looking for a Black substitute for the convicted white man (Frey, p. 61). While the Black press did not glorify Conley, it did state that it believed his testimony to be truthful. However, Benjamin Davis, editor of the *Atlanta Independent,* a Black weekly, did not believe Conley's story and was strongly in favor of a new trial for Frank (Frey, p. 61).

The majority of Georgia's citizens were in favor of Frank's conviction and against it being overturned by any court, whether local, state or national. Frank's attorneys, however, did not intend to let the conviction stand. As soon as the trial was over they began work on a series of appeals. Procedure required that the first appeal be heard by Judge Leonard Roan, the trial judge in the Frank case (Dinnerstein, p. 77).

Among the points of the appeal was the issue of mob rule, and that "the verdict was without evidence to support it and contrary to the weight of the evidence." (Dinnerstein, p. 78). Solicitor General Hugh M. Dorsey argued for the state that Frank had, of course, had a fair trial. Judge Roan's decision contained the following controversial statement:

> "I have thought about this case more than any other I have tried. I am not certain of the man's guilt. With all the thought I have put on this case, I am not thoroughly convinced that Frank is guilty or innocent. The jury was convinced. There is no room to doubt that. I feel it is my duty to order that the motion for a new trial be overruled." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 79).

The *Georgian*, in spite of its sensationalizing of the crime, struggled to comprehend Roan's statement. If a trial judge, with all of his expertise in such matters, still expressed doubt as to Frank's guilt or innocence, how could a jury be so certain? This, in essence, was the question the *Georgian* posed in one of its lead editorials. "When the trial judge is in doubt, is it not time to pause before legal murder is added to the long list of other crimes in our State.?" (*Atlanta Georgian*, November 1,1913, p. 1).

The Waycross *Herald* countered in an editorial stating, "It was none of Judge Roan's business to be convinced of Frank's guilt . . . The jury was fully convinced and said so. It was purely up to the jury and not Judge Roan." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 80). The Greensboro *Herald-Journal* claimed surprise at Roan's ignorance. The paper made it quite clear that there were plenty of people in Greensboro who knew Frank was guilty and they hadn't heard all of the evidence, nor did they need to hear it (Dinnerstein, p. 80).

Further appeals followed and brought no change in the verdict against Leo Frank. Not long after the denial of the appeals, the *Atlanta Journal* "published the results of an interview with the state biologist who had examined Mary Phagan's body shortly after her death." (Dinnerstein, p. 84). One of the prosecution's main clues had been the hair found on the lathe which Mary Phagan used as an employee of the National Pencil Company. When subjected to microscopic examination, it was clear that the hair did not belong to the dead girl. The prosecution had relied on the presence of the hair to prove that she had been murdered on the second floor, just outside Frank's office.

When the state biologist passed the information on to Dorsey, he ignored it. Confronted by the *Journal* as to why he maintained that the hair had belonged to the dead girl, he said, "I did not depend on [the biologist's] testimony. . . other witnesses in the case swore that the hair was that of

Mary Phagan, and that sufficed to establish my point." (Dinnerstein, p. 85 citing *Atlanta Constitution,* February 21, 1914, p.1).

One of Atlanta's small papers, the*Southern Ruralist,* had condemned Dorsey's methods before. It continued to do so when it commented editorially on Dorsey's statement in its March 14, 1914 issue, "Prejudice is the mildest possible term for such conduct. Such official misrepresentation of fact . . . is the very murder of justice itself." (p. 21). This editorial was the first written in defense of a new trial for Frank in Georgia. It "broke the spell of cowed silence that had fallen on the state press." (Woodward, p. 378). The door had been opened for commentary from every individual and collective perspective.

To this end, Tom Watson, the old populist party boss, who subscribed to Southern sentiment regarding crimes against white women, saw an opportunity to reaffirm his political position within the state. He believed that, "The defense of a woman's honor was also part of every Southerner's creed, and the culture dictated swift punishment to anyone who violated a kinswoman." (Dinnerstein, p. 148).

As owner and editor of the *Jeffersonian,* an ultra-conservative tabloid circulated primarily among the working class in the rural and semi-rural communities of Georgia, Watson wasted no time using the editorial as a way to unleash some of the worst anti-semitism seen in the South while increasing revenue. During the appeals process he would stress "the indescribable outrage committed upon 'the factory girl' *in the factory,*" thus indicating that at this particular time and in this particular case resentment against a symbol of alien industrialism took precedence over the usual Negro prejudice." (Dinnerstein, p. 33).

Watson used every device imaginable to corrupt his followers into believing that the very values of the state of Georgia were at stake. "He pulled all the stops: Southern chivalry, sectional animus, race prejudice, class consciousness, agrarian resentment, state pride." (Woodward, p. 380). He fueled the fires of a frustrated working class.

At the same time, Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee and a renowned constitutional lawyer, "used his influence in an attempt to change Southern attitudes. He induced Adolph Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times,* and also a member of the American Jewish Committee, to use his newspaper to help exonerate Frank (Dinnerstein, p. 91).

"The *Times* thereupon embarked on a protracted campaign to obtain another trial." (Dinnerstein, p. 91). Marshall warned Ochs not to print anything "which would arouse the sensitiveness of the southern people and engender the feeling that the north is criticizing the courts and the people of Georgia." (Dinnerstein, p. 91). He also "strongly urged that there should be no suggestion that the Frank case involves any element of anti-Semitism." (Dinnerstein, pp. 91-2). Unfortunately, the campaign by the *Times* failed. Southerners were still fearful of aliens and would not listen to "the pleas of Northern, urban, Jewish-owned newspapers." (Dinnerstein, p. 92).

The denial of a new trial by Judge Roan caused respectable Georgians to become concerned. The three Atlanta dailies, the *Journal,* the *Georgian* and the *Constitution,* used their editorial pages to convince readers that Frank deserved a new trial. All three were convinced that Frank had not had a fair trial, but a trial based on mob rule and incited passion (Golden, p. 240)

The *Daily Telegraph* of Macon, Georgia took a more prideful position, stating: "If a mistake is made involving a single human life, it would be deplorable; but it is better such a mistake should be made than that our legal system should be brought into disrepute." (as cited in Golden, pp. 241-42).

Georgia's legal system, however, was about to be scrutinized by the entire nation as part of a press campaign demanding justice for Frank. Louis Marshall, the well-known constitutional lawyer, wrote to friends and acquaintances in an effort to persuade those in prominent circles, particularly Southerners, to get involved on Frank's behalf (Dinnerstein, p. 92). In a letter to a friend in Baltimore who wanted to know what he could do to help, Marshall wrote:

> "The greatest aid that you and your friends in Baltimore can give to this cause would be to induce some of the leading newspapers in Baltimore, Richmond, Savannah, and other Southern points which you reach, to write editorials similar to that which recently appeared in the *Atlanta Journal,* and to reproduce the articles which have appeared from day to day in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post..*" (Dinnerstein, p. 93, citing personal letters of Louis Marshall).

The friend acted on Marshall's suggestion immediately. Newspapers in Baltimore agreed to editorialize on the injustices inherent in the conviction of Leo Frank (Dinnerstein, p. 93). Marshall also enlisted the aid of Chicago advertising expert Albert D. Lasker. Lasker contacted publications all over the country in an effort to get positive support for Frank (Dinnerstein, 92).

It wasn't long before the nation's press was convinced that Frank had been convicted by mob rule, hysteria, fear and prejudice, not on solid evidence. In Bismark, North Dakota, an editorialist commented: "We would have sat on that jury until this great globe hangs motionless in space and the rotting dead arise in their cerements, before we convicted Frank." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 93).

Newspapers such as the Baltimore Morning *Sun* (March 17,1914), Little Rock's *Arkansas Gazette* (April 15, 1914), Richmond's *Times-Dispatch* (March 24, 1914), and *The Mobile Tribune* (March 24, 1914), all appealed to their readers urging them to demand a new trial for Frank as the only way to right a heinous miscarriage of justice (Dinnerstein, 93).*The Salt Lake City Tribune* stated on March 19, 1914, that it was "somewhat remarkable that the conviction was obtained on the negro's testimony in the first place." (Dinnerstein, 203).

Georgia's newspapers could no longer keep silent. The *Macon News,* in its March 9, 1914 edition, stated that executing Frank "under the evidence offered against him would be practically without a parallel in the annals of Georgia jurisprudence." (p. 11). In order to avoid losing circulation, the *Constitution* attempted to illustrate its point by discussing another case which had been tried under similar circumstances, stating: "It is, or should be, axiomatic and impelling, that at every turn, under every condition, an environment of perfect fairness surround and characterize the trial." (February 26, 1914, p. 4).

The *Journal,* however, took the strongest and most compassionate stand with what Dinnerstein called "a scathing attack on Georgia justice." (p.94). In recalling the circumstances of the trial, the *Journal* stated in its editorial of March 10, 1914:

> "The very atmosphere of the courtroom was charged with an electric current of indignation which flashed and scintillated before the very eyes of the jury. The courtroom and streets were filled with an angry, determined crowd, ready to seize the defendant if the jury had found him not guilty. Cheers for

> the prosecuting counsel were irrepressible in the courtroom throughout the trial and on the streets unseemly demonstrations in condemnation of Frank were heard by the judge and jury. The judge was powerless to prevent those outbursts in the courtroom and the police were unable to control the crowd outside.
> . . . it was known that a verdict of acquittal would cause a riot such as would shock the country and cause Atlanta's streets to run with innocent blood." (p.8).

The editorial by the *Journal* spawned mixed reactions from the press and from the public. The March 20, 1914 edition of the Greensboro *Herald-Journal* (p. 8) and the March 12, 1914 edition of the *North Georgia Citizen* (p. 4), both small-town papers, "applauded the Atlanta paper's position." (Dinnerstein, 94). Letters praising the *Journal's* editors came from everywhere, including one from the court stenographer during Frank's trial which stated, in part, that the legal community acknowledged that the trial was a farce (Dinnerstein, p. 94). Others accused the *Journal* of being "bought with Jew money." (Atlanta Journal, March 15, 1914, pp. 5,6). A drop in circulation caused the *Journal* to wait another year before coming to Frank's defense again (Dinnerstein, p. 95)

During the summer of 1914 the press stayed quiet with regard to the Frank case. Tom Watson stopped fanning the lynch-mob fires and attention shifted to the flames of war flickering across Europe. The nation's press was already outraged by the senseless injustices inherent in the Georgia judicial system, and the unwillingness of anyone with the strength and resolve to set aside a conviction that blasphemed the concept and practice of equal justice for all citizens.

In the fall of 1914, the Georgia Supreme Court had denied the last of Frank's appeals within the state judicial system. His attorneys began a two-fold process on his behalf. First, they began working on appeals to the United States Supreme Court and, concurrently, they worked on having his sentence commuted to life imprisonment (Dinnerstein, pp. 109, 114).

Action by Frank's attorneys coupled with a significant new development in the case spawned renewed interest in the case by the press. On October 2, 1914, William M. Smith, attorney for Jim Conley, announced that his own client had, in fact, murdered Mary Phagan. Since Conley had already been convicted for his "part" in the crime, he could not be retried. Smith felt it imperative that he speak up to save the life of an innocent man. However, he provided no concrete proof (Frey, 70 and Dinnerstein, p. 115).

Tom Watson, in keeping with his prior editorials, charged that Smith had been bribed to make the statement. He became even more vehement in his opposition to a new trial for Frank. His editorials went so far as to claim that Frank's Jewish features alone proved his guilt (Woodward, 380). The national press, however, used Smith's statement to revive the case, and once again presented Frank in a favorable light to its readers (Dinnerstein, p. 115).

By November 1914, commentary and discussion were frequent, and newspaper editorials were indignant on the subject. The first was in the Baltimore *Sun* on November 19, 1914 (p. 1). Another appeared in the *Sun* on November 26 which stated that faith in the American jury system had weakened considerably and that, "Sometimes the public is almost justified in feeling that the twelve men in the jury box deserve hanging even more richly than the accused." (p. 6).

At the same time, the first of Frank's appeals to the United States Supreme Court was submitted to Justice Joseph R. Lamar whose circuit included Georgia. He denied the petition, claiming it involved state procedure which was not reviewable by the court (*Atlanta Journal,* November 26, 1914, p. 4).

A petition was then filed with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. He, too, denied the petition for the same reason. However, he also held that it was doubtful that Frank had been afforded due process of law, stating that the trial occurred "in the presence of a hostile demonstration and seemingly dangerous crowd, thought by the presiding judge to be ready for violence unless a verdict of guilty was rendered." (quoted in The *New York Times,* November 27, 1914, p. 1). Frank's attorneys then petitioned to be heard before the entire United States Supreme Court. Their petition was granted. However, after presenting arguments on Frank's behalf before the court, the petition for a writ of error was denied without written opinion (*Atlanta Journal*, December 7, 1914, p.1).

The statement by Justice Holmes in answer to the second petition, and the Supreme Court's refusal to issue a writ of error in the appeal to the whole court, gave birth to widespread national newspaper criticism. In Albany, New York, *The Knickerbocker Press* asked, "Is it not an amazing commentary upon our judicial system that an associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court 'seriously doubts if Frank has had due process of law, ' and yet there is no means at hand by which 'due process' may be had?" (Reprinted, *The New York Times,* December 1, 1914, p. 7). *The Indianapolis News* questioned, "How can the lay mind be expected to see justice in a ruling of that sort? It may be entirely legal, but it hardly seems sensible." (Reprinted, *The New York Times,* December 2, 1914, p. 8).

Tom Watson used the editorial pages of the *Jeffersonian* again to remind his readers that the Northern press was determined to help Frank because it was owned largely by Jews. He included such publications as *Puck, The New York Times* and the New York *Evening World* (*Jeffersonian,* December 5, 1914, pp.1, 8). In a scathing editorial to incite readers he stated, in part:

> "What is the purpose of this continued and systematic crusade in behalf of one convicted Jew whose connections command unlimited wealth?The Frank case is enough to depress the most hopeful student of the times. It has shown us how the capitalists of Big Money regard the poor man's daughter. It has shown us what our daily papers will do in the interest of wealthy criminals. It has shown us how differently the law deals with the rich man and the poor." (*Jeffersonian,* December 5, 1914, pp.1, 8).

Watson's editorial may have been in response to *The New York Times* which printed a letter to the editor from a Georgian woman in its November 28, 1914 edition which stated, "No one has yet dared publicly to express his belief in Frank's innocence without being accused of having been bought with Jewish money." (p. 5, 6).

Two articles appeared almost immediately in *Collier's* casting Frank in a favorable light. "The Frank Case," written by C. P. Connolly, a former prosecuting attorney in Butte, Montana, held that Frank was indeed innocent (LIV, December 19, 1914, pp. 6-7, and under the same title in the following issue, December 26, 1914 pp. 18-20).

Frank's attorneys, believing that the strong editorial support from the press might cause the United States Supreme Court to yield, began taking the necessary steps for appealing for a writ of habeas corpus. Using Justice Holmes' opinion "that the trial court lost jurisdiction of the case when the verdict was received in the absence of the prisoner . . . ." -- an absence that was not voluntary on Frank's part, but was due to the "hostile attitude of the spectators at the trial" -- Frank's attorneys claimed that he had been denied due process of law (*The New York Times,* December 18, 1914, p. 6).

Complying with procedural requirements, they petitioned the Federal District Court for North Georgia. The petition was promptly denied by the local judge (Dinnerstein, p. 110). Again, they appealed to Justice Lamar who agreed that the court should hear the case (*The New York Times,* December 29, 1914, p. 1). Lamar's decision was met with tremendous support from the press. The Scranton, Pennsylvania *Republican* stated, "Throughout the entire country there was a breath of relief . . . " (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 111). The Portland *Oregonian* stated, "Justice Lamar's decision makes life and liberty more secure for every citizen of the United States." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 111).

Regarding the extensive editorial coverage by the press in support of Leo Frank, Albert D. Lasker commented in a letter to Jacob Billikopf, a resident of Kansas City, Missouri:

> "Outside the State of Georgia, the press of the United States, including the leading papers of every city in the South, save Georgia, are editorially commenting on the case, and agitating a public sentiment for the unfortunate Frank, but daily hundreds of papers, including the leading Southern papers, are editorially crying that Frank's execution would amount to judicial murder, and that in this case, the State of Georgia is more at bar than Frank. I do not exaggerate when I state that hundreds of such editorials are appearing daily." (Frank Papers, boxes 694-701 as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 207).

A detailed survey appeared in *The Kansas City Star* (January 17, 1915, pp. 1C-3C), and *The New York Times* continued to write regularly about the case (February 2, 1915, p. 6). An essay by Arthur Train, an assistant district attorney in New York City, titled "Did Leo Frank Get Justice?" appeared in *Everybody's* magazine (XXXII, March, 1915, pp. 315-317). Arthur Brisbane also investigated the case for the Hearst newspapers, and the *New York World* and Chicago *Tribune* sent reporters to Atlanta for further information.

According to Dinnerstein, the writings of C. P. Connolly and Arthur Train were significant simply because both were attorneys with extensive criminal law experience. Along with two other reporters, they believed that Frank was innocent. Their research revealed all of the typical ingredients found in anti-industrialism, police incompetence, and newspaper sensationalism worked into the attack against Frank. They both stressed Atlanta's hatred of Jews. Leo Frank became known as "The American Dreyfus," thanks to the work of the reporter from the Baltimore *Sun* (Dinnerstein, p. 116).

In spite of all the efforts of the nation's press, Frank's final appeal to the United States Supreme Court on the writ of habeas corpus was denied. Justice Holmes and Justice Charles Evans Hughes dissented, claiming that Frank had indeed been convicted by mob rule and "under no stretch of judicial imagination could they presume that Leo Frank had had a fair trial. Mob law does not become due process of law by securing the assent of a terrorized jury." (*Frank v. Mangum,* 237 U.S. 326, p. 347,349).

The nation's press was exceptionally angry with the Supreme Court. The *San Francisco Chronicle* aligned itself with the dissenting Justices in its April 21, 1915 edition (p. 18). The Oklahoma press commented through the Muskogee *Democrat* stating, in its April 29, 1915 edition, "The sad part of it all is that Frank has failed to get a new trial not because the higher court believes him to be guilty but because of technical mistakes made by his lawyer." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 113).

Nothing, however, would sway the majority of Georgia's citizens. They resented the editorials filled with "accusations of race prejudice and mob passions." (Dinnerstein,116). They couldn't understand why a convicted Jew shouldn't be punished for the crime he committed. They believed the press had been bought and paid for with Jewish money (Dinnerstein, p. 117). They also believed that the press wouldn't have been as concerned if the same alleged injustices had been served on a Gentile (Dinnerstein, 116).

DISCUSSION

Before the conviction of Leo M. Frank, most press coverage was limited to the Southern states. From the moment the body of Mary Phagan was discovered until the time Frank was convicted, the press of Atlanta, except for the *Journal* which had been the most judicious in its approach, had presumed his guilt (Woodward, p. 435). After his conviction, Tom Watson used the*Jeffersonian* to stir up the long-term resentment of Frank by Georgia's working class.

If the nation's press had a role to play, it was in cleaning up the bias and prejudice created by the press of Atlanta, the South and Tom Watson. To this end, the roles of Louis Marshall and Albert D. Lasker must not be forgotten. They knew that the press, through a variety of publications, was the best way to reach the citizens of the nation in the campaign to exonerate Leo M. Frank.

Their efforts were not in vain. One glance at the volumes of publications regarding the Frank case is sufficient to document the determination of the nation's press to secure justice for Frank. In fact, just prior to the commutation hearings before Georgia's Prison Commission and, eventually, Governor John M. Slaton, papers across the nation included coupons asking clemency for Frank. Readers could clip, sign and return them to the various publishers for shipping to the Commission and the Governor (Dinnerstein, p. 118).

"Thousands of petitions, containing more than one million signatures poured into Georgia from every state in the union." (Dinnerstein, p. 118). While the majority of Georgians were against commutation, ten-thousand citizens of the state still petitioned the Georgia Prison Commission and the Governor on Frank's behalf as did Georgia's junior United States Senator, Thomas Hardwick, and senior Senator Hoke Smith's son and son-in-law. Ministers, bankers and lawyers from Georgia signed petitions or wrote letters which indicated their doubts regarding Franks guilt (Dinnerstein, p. 119). Major newspapers in the state such as *The Atlanta Journal, The Atlanta Georgian, The North Georgia Citizen* (also called the *Dalton Citizen*) and the Brunswick *News* agreed that Frank deserved a new trial.

Dinnerstein has cited a list of participants in the outpouring of petitions on Frank's behalf. These include, but are not limited to, the following people or agencies: "The President of the University of Chicago; the Dean of Yale College; Charles R. Crane, the plumbing magnate; Judge Ben Lindsay of Colorado; and Jane Addams. Elmer Murphy, President of the James H. Rhodes Company, producers of industrial chemicals, sent out an appeal to every name on the mailing list of the company publication, *Rhodes' Colossus,* earnestly requesting that each of them intercede for Frank." (p. 118).

Also cited by Dinnerstein are: "The Governors of Arizona, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia wrote to Georgia's Governor, as did United States Senators from Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, along with scores of congressmen. The state legislatures of Louisiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia passed resolutions urging commutation." (p. 118).

The New York Times commented that the appeals by the governors and state legislatures "are said to be without precedent in the history of the United States." (*The New York Times* with petitions May 15, 1915 p. 11, May 18, 1915, p. 6, May 25, 1915, p. 6, May 29, 1915, p. 12, May 30, 1915, II., p. 14).

Over twenty-thousand petitions containing over five-hundred-thousand names came from the city of Chicago, home of Albert D. Lasker, and citizens of Cincinnati sent in five-hundred petitions. Coupons were printed in the Detroit *Times,* The Omaha *Bee,* the Cincinnati *Post,* the Louisville *Herald,* the Boston *Traveler,* and several newspapers based in Los Angeles (Dinnerstein, p. 118).

While the press campaign started by Louis Marshall and Albert D. Lasker was incredibly successful, so was the press campaign of Tom Watson. The Georgia Prison Commissioners refused to commute Frank's sentence by a vote of 2-1 (Dinnerstein, p. 122). During the appeal to Governor Slaton, the last avenue of appeal, Watson lost no time in inciting his readership to a fury against the Jews of Georgia. When Frank's sentence was finally commuted by Governor Slaton on June 21, 1915, many Georgians turned upon their Jewish neighbors.

In Canton, Jews had twenty-four hours to vacate their homes, shops and businesses or be visited by what Dinnerstein referred to as "summary vengeance." (Dinnerstein, p.130). In Marietta, a local vigilance committee distributed handbills to Jewish merchants that ordered them to close up their businesses and quit Marietta by Saturday night, June 29, 1915, or they would suffer the consequences. In other sections of the state, Jewish merchants were boycotted.

For the most part, the post-conviction press had worked to the benefit of Leo M. Frank. He did not receive the death sentence from the state of Georgia, which would have amounted to a judicial lynching. However, Tom Watson's hateful and anti-Semitic campaign through the *Jeffersonian* was the catalyst within Georgia's working class that led to the lynching of Leo Frank by a vigilante mob on August 17, 1915 near Marietta, Georgia. None of those involved in Frank's abduction from prison or the lynching were ever brought to justice (Frey, 105).

The nation's press "denounced the state of Georgia." (Dinnerstein, p. 146). Representative of the prevailing national sentiment -- outside Georgia-- the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* stated that Frank's "lynching constitutes the most vicious blow struck at organized government in a century, and the South, in particular, must suffer." (as cited in Dinnerstein, p. 146).

The Atlanta Constitution, in its editorial of August 18, 1915 titled "Georgia's Shame," stated, "In that act the sovereignty of the state of Georgia has been assaulted, desecrated, raped. No word in the language is too strong to apply to the deliberate and carefully conspired deed of the mob. . . It is Georgia, Georgia law and justice that was hanged upon that Cobb county tree." (p. 6).

A *New York Times* correspondent in Atlanta wrote the following in the August 20, 1915 edition, "For Georgia understands perfectly what the outside world thinks of her, make no mistake about that, and she feels that a penalty will be exacted of her by that world. She feels helpless, and she knows that she is alone." (p. 4).

Louis Marshall was quoted in the August 18, 1915 edition of *The New York Times* regarding the lynching of Frank and stated, in part:

> " 'The United States Government ought to go after Tom Watson . . . He is the scoundrel who stirred up the agitation of which Frank was the victim for nearly three years before his death. The Jeffersonian bristles with vulgar lies and the basest kind of misrepresentation, designed to excite an ignorant populace into committing murder'." (p. 3).

Thomas Loyless, editor of the *Augusta Chronicle,* was also quoted in the same*Times* article. Loyless had been totally in favor of clemency for Frank, and was extremely concerned that public opinion had swayed the Prison Commissioners. In a scathing editorial in the ***Augusta Chronicle*** he had urged Governor Slaton to commute Frank's sentence. After the lynching, however, he stated:

> " 'The leader of all this agitation against Frank and against the Jews generally, is Tom Watson, former Populist candidate for President, who has degenerated into the firebrand publisher of an incendiary weekly paper. . . He has a perfect genius for arousing race hatred and religious prejudice. . . It is charitable to assume that he is crazy, but the venom of his nature overshadows all else. He has openly and persistently advocated the lynching of Leo Frank and death for ex-Governor Slaton'." (p. 3).

In their book, *Night Fell on Georgia,* Charles and Louise Samuels concluded with the following statement: "Leo Frank was the victim of one of the most shocking frame-ups ever perpetrated by American law-and-order officials." (p. 222). "John Roche, who has chronicled the growth and development of civil rights in the twentieth century, stated, 'As one who has read the trial record half a century later, I might add . . . that Leo Frank was the victim of circumstantial evidence which would not hold up ten minutes in a normal courtroom then and now.' " (cited in Dinnerstein, 162).

The truth regarding Leo Frank's innocence was slow to emerge. In 1943, Judge Arthur C. Powell of Georgia, whose law partner in 1913 had taken part in prosecuting the case, stated that Frank was, in fact, innocent. According to David Schwartz, author of "The Leo Frank Case" which appeared in the December, 1943 edition of *Congress Weekly,* Powell felt his statement would be enough to vindicate Frank. However, Schwartz stated:

> "One would like an answer from Judge Powell on something which he can reply to with more positiveness. Why is it that he delayed so long in coming out with this statement? Wasn't it a little unfair to the young innocent Frank, for whom he now shows so much sympathy, to wait so long to tell what he knows. Even now, he declares, he does not propose to publish the name of the actual murderer of Mary Phagan until certain men are not living. He is still shielding someone at the expense of Leo Frank." (p. 7).

Robert Seitz Frey and Nancy Thompson-Frey documented the case in their 1988 book, *The Silent and the Damned: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank.* It also offers a current perspective on the case including the revelation of a secret kept for nearly seventy years. Once brought to light, the new information gave credence to the statements made by Judge Arthur Powell regarding Frank's innocence.

Alonzo Mann, a fourteen-year-old who gave brief testimony during the trial, was at the pencil factory the day Mary Phagan was murdered. Mann was an office boy at the factory and, according to his sworn statement given almost seventy years after the crime, he was standing in a stairwell moments after Mary Phagan was murdered. Mann stated that he saw Jim Conley on the first floor by the trap door that opened to the basement. Conley was carrying the girl's body.

Conley threatened that he would kill Mann if he ever told anyone what he had seen. Mann told his parents about the incident, but was told not to get involved. When Frank was convicted, his parents told him nothing he said could change the jury's verdict (Frey, 147).

Over the course of his life Mann told others what he had seen, but no one believed him. During World War I he argued with another soldier from Marietta, Georgia about the crime (Frey, 147). He hired a lawyer, but the lawyer chose to ignore the story. During the 1950s he told his story to a reporter from the *Constitution*, but the editor refused to pursue the story so as not to offend the Jewish community or Leo Frank's widow. The story was squelched during the 1960s and 1970s so as not to give rise to new anti-Semitism (Frey, p. 148).

Jerry Thompson, a reporter from the *Nashville Tennessean*, was the first to take Mann seriously and to show any interest in the story. Thompson had been involved in infiltrating the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama. After publishing articles about the organization he began receiving death threats. The publisher of the paper, John Seigenthaler, hired two bodyguards for Thompson, one to protect him while on speaking engagements and another, named Robert Mann, to protect him at home (Frey, 149).

Robert Mann asked Thompson if he would be interested in writing a story about a famous murder case. Thompson suggested the idea to Siegenthaler who didn't feel it would be of interest to his readers. However, Thompson and reporter Robert Sherborne visited with Alonzo Mann in

Bristol, Virginia. When Seigenthaler was told the new information was about the Frank case, he wanted the story immediately.

Thompson and Sherborne headed up a team of reporters from the *Tennessean*.. The team studied the records of the case and all materials published in order to validate Mann's story. Mann was cross-examined by the research team, the deputy managing editor, and the newspaper's attorney (Frey, p. 149). He was also given a polygraph test and a psychological stress evaluation and passed both with no difficulty (Frey, 149).

Mann's reason for coming forward so late in his life was more spiritual than justice oriented. A deeply religious Christian, Mann wanted to tell the truth before his life was over. He had spent years trying to convince others that he was sincere and truthful, but his attempts were dismissed or ignored. He wanted spiritual peace before he passed away.

The story ran in the March 7, 1982 edition of the *Tennessean,* covering several pages of a special section. The public response was exceptionally positive (Frey 150). The wire services picked up on the story and citizens of Georgia took an interest in the case. But the legal process of pardoning Frank was long and arduous.

On January 4, 1983, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the Atlanta Jewish Federation filed an application for a full pardon for Frank with the Georgia State Board of Pardons. The ADL argued that Frank was innocent based on the evidence provided by Mann. (Frey, 151). The pardon was supported by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta and the Black-Jewish Coalition.

Opposition came from the Ku Klux Klan ,which reprinted many of Tom Watson's editorials, and from the Phagan family. But their objections were nothing compared to the public support for a pardon. The newspaper editorials were favorable to Frank, but to no avail. On December 22, 1983 the Georgia State Board of Pardons and Paroles denied a posthumous pardon for Frank.

The ADL did not want a pardon of forgiveness from the State Board, but a full pardon of innocence. A new application was filed which claimed that the state of Georgia failed to protect

Frank from the lynch mob and had not prosecuted those who participated in the lynching. After four years of legal maneuvering, Leo M. Frank was officially pardoned by the State of Georgia on March 11, 1986. The decision of the State Board of Pardons read, in part:

> "The lynching [of Leo Frank] aborted the leal process, thus foreclosing further efforts to prove Frank's innocence. It resulted from the State of Georgia's failure to protect Frank. Compounding the injustice, the State then failed to prosecute any of the lynchers." (as cited in Frey, 156).

Alonzo Mann, who had come forward so late in life, had passed away in 1985 never knowing the contribution he had made to proving Frank's innocence.

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the lynching of Leo Frank by a vigilante mob, the nation's press had launched a highly successful campaign to save his life. While such a statement may seem contradictory in content, Frank's appeal for commutation was granted by Governor John M. Slaton. From all that has been presented, it is clear that the Governor was besieged with petitions from people from all walks of life and from all over the country. This was the work of the nation's press, which thoughtfully and deliberately publicized the issues of the case and the need for justice where justice had failed.

Leo Frank was never executed by the state of Georgia. This was the goal of the press campaign from the start -- to prevent a judicial lynching. Conversely, the actions of the vigilante mob which executed him are not surprising, and certainly indicate the success of Tom Watson's hate campaign against Frank.

Clearly two factions -- perhaps identifiable as good and evil -- existed in the press of the time. Neither side was truly concerned with whether Frank was innocent or guilty. From the perspective of the nation's press, Georgia's system of justice had failed miserably. While citizens of the state believed this was inconsequential to the case, the press which saw the deeper issues involved in Frank's conviction. Saying nothing would have been tantamount to allowing the justice system of any state, or the nation, to fail as well.

The press had become more than a source of information for its readers. It had taken on a cause based on a natural sense of justice. Securing a new trial for Frank and supporting his plea for clemency meant persuading the citizens of the nation that the Frank case represented a departure from legally guaranteed democracy and justice.

Georgia's resentment of the nation's press may have been grounded in Southern pride. This attitude was also fueled by Tom Watson who believed that old Southern attitudes, mores and beliefs were to be upheld at all costs. It would be years before the South would change.

Finally, and most ironically, while the press campaign to save Frank's life was exceptionally broad in scope, encouraging the citizens of an entire nation to act on his behalf, it was the decision of one man which determined Frank's fate. Governor John M. Slaton heard the cries for justice echoed through the press of the nation and had the courage to heed the call.

BIBLIOBRAPHY

Newspapers

The Atlanta Constitution, 1913-1915.
The Atlanta Georgian, 1913.
The Atlanta Journal, 1913-1915.
The Augusta Chronicle, 1913-1915.
The Baltimore Morning *Sun*, 1913-1915.
The Greensboro *Herald-Journal*, 1913-1915.
The Jeffersonian, 1913-1915.
The New York Times, 1913-1915.

Case Law

Motion for a New Trial.
Amended Motion for a New Trial.
Georgia Reports: 141 *Georgia* 243 (1914); 142 *Georgia* 617 (1914);
142 *Georgia* 741 (1914).
Frank v. Mangum, 237 U.S. 309 (1915).

Books

Dinnerstein, Leonard. *The Leo Frank Case*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968. [reprinted, 1987, University of Georgia Press, Athens.]

Frey, Thomas S., and Thompson-Frey, Nancy. *The Silent and the Damned, The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank*. Lanham MD: Madison Books, 1988.

Golden, Harry. *A Little Girl is Dead*. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1965.

Samuels, Charles and Louise, *Night Fell on Georgia*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1956.

Woodward, Comer Vann. *Tom Watson Agrarian Rebel*. 2nd ed. Savannah, GA.: Beehive Press, 1973.

Additional Books

Goldstein, Tom. *News At Any Cost*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985.

Lindemann, Albert S. *The Jew Accused*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Articles and Periodicals

Asbury, Herbert. "Hearst Comes to Atlanta," *The American Mercury*, VII (January, 1926), 87-95.

Bricker, L. O. "A Great American Tragedy," *The Shane Quarterly*, IV (April, 1943), 89-95.

Connolly, C. P. "The Frank Case," *Collier's,* LIV (December 19, 1914), 6-7, 22-24; (December 26, 1914), 18-20, 23-25.

Golden, Harry L. "Jew and Gentile in the New South: Segregation at Sundown," *Commentary,* XX (November, 1955), 403-12.

Train, Arthur. "Did Leo Frank Get Justice?" *Everybody's,* XXXIII (March, 1915), 314-17.

cs

BANANA-PEEL JOURNALISM: P.S. LOVEJOY AND THE FIGHT FOR THE CUTOVER, 1919-1923

James Kates
Ph.D. student
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Vilas Communication Hall
821 University Avenue
Madison, WI 53706

Telephone: (608) 262-3690
Fax: (608) 262-1361

email: jrkates@students.wisc.edu

BANANA-PEEL JOURNALISM: P.S. LOVEJOY AND THE FIGHT FOR THE CUTOVER, 1919-1923

In the summer of 1919, Michigan's Upper Peninsula welcomed an odd visitor: a frail and bookish-looking man from the university at Ann Arbor, an urban specimen who nonetheless talked of Paul Bunyan and loved to play the banjo. For several weeks, Parish Storrs Lovejoy was squired around the region like visiting royalty. Upper Michigan had been stripped of its trees, but local boosters now sensed that something new and better was growing. Bumping down the logging roads in Model-Ts, they treated Lovejoy to a display of emerging agricultural splendor. "They showed me silver linings and sweet clover ... Finns and Polanders with their women barefoot in the fields ... towns coming up out of the wrecks of logging camps ... all manner of interesting things," Lovejoy recalled. But the tour was hardly representative of the larger country, and Lovejoy knew it. As he journeyed through the former North Woods on his own, Lovejoy found mostly "brushy wastes of scrub, fire-weed forests, bleached snags and charred stumps." The boosters' dreams for "Cloverland," as they optimistically called it, clearly were not coming true.[1]

Beginning that summer and for the next several years, Lovejoy unleashed a barrage of magazine articles on the subject of northern development. His focus was the "cutover," the vast landscape that had been ravaged by lumber companies, then abandoned or sold to speculators. The cutover of the Lake States comprised 40 million acres -- roughly the northern half of Michigan and the northern third of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Most of the cutover stood idle and desolate, littered with stumps and brush that fed periodic wildfires. Wisconsin alone had 13 million acres of cutover, an area bigger than the state's entire improved acreage in farms.[2]

Agricultural progress in the region had been slow. Lovejoy found a handful of settlers trying to grub a living from sandy, acidic soil. Pockets of rich land were interspersed with poor, but the settlers had tried to farm the bad soil as well as the good. The record of their failure was written in the tax rolls. Vast areas of "Cloverland" had reverted to county or state ownership for nonpayment of property taxes. "Millions of acres of it have reverted for taxes and have been peddled out again for pennies an acre," Lovejoy noted. In many cases, land valuations were so low that counties spent more to collect the taxes than they received in revenue. The slick patter of the "land boomers" would not alter a central fact: "A good part of Cloverland is starvation poor, because the soil naturally is nothing but lean and hungry sand."[3]

To remedy the imbalance between land and farms, Lovejoy prescribed harsh medicine. The cutover region had a glut of land, he wrote, and no amount of scheming would fill that land with farmers. On much of this land, agriculture simply didn't pay. Soils were poor, growing seasons too short, and markets too distant. In the early 1920s, even the most prosperous American farmers were plagued by persistent surpluses and falling prices for their products. Against that backdrop, sending an unknowing settler into an unforgiving region like the cutover seemed unwise -- even cruel. Government agencies and private firms, Lovejoy declared, had no business promoting settlement in areas where farmers were likely to fail. "Nearly everybody has always taken it for granted that the more land there is in farms and the more farmers there are on the land, the better off we all are," he wrote. But the mounting farm failures in the cutover had proved this maxim wrong. States now had a duty to inventory their rural lands and to classify them according to best use: for farming, grazing, recreation, or the growing of timber as a crop. The goal was to make all acres productive in some form, but to discourage farming on the millions of acres that would not support it. "The old land-booming days are just about over," Lovejoy declared. "Land-booming methods have failed and worse than failed. Something new and different and better is coming up."[4]

P.S. Lovejoy, perhaps more than any other person in the United States, was equipped both to recognize this fact and to proclaim it to the masses. In the small and rarefied world of 1920s conservation, Lovejoy was a genuine rarity: a trained scientist with a flair for the backwoods vernacular. Schooled at the University of Michigan, he had worked for Gifford Pinchot as a forest supervisor in Wyoming and Washington state, then signed on as a professor at the Forestry School in Ann Arbor in 1912. But the bloodless atmosphere of academe left him restless and dissatisfied. In 1920 he quit the Michigan faculty, embarking on a three-year odyssey of prolific and profound free-lance writing. Most of his work appeared in *The Country Gentleman,* a weekly farm magazine owned by the powerful Curtis Publishing Company of Philadelphia. In several dozen articles, Lovejoy hammered away at the need for land-use planning, replanting of cutover areas with a new "crop" of trees, and regulation of real-estate sharks in the North Woods. Each article was an engaging lesson in land economics, delivered in the folksy tones of a cracker-barrel philosopher. But Lovejoy's easy manner veiled a fierce and tireless intelligence, one that was pushing the boundaries of both popular and academic thought on land-use questions. In retrospect, his free-lance work of the early 1920s amounts to nothing less than a total refiguring of the social contract under which Americans had subdued, reshaped, and employed the American landscape.[5]

The Country Gentleman made a good venue for his campaign. Its owner also published *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The Ladies' Home Journal.* The company's pockets were deep. Lovejoy received $350 for each feature article -- a sum that allowed him to travel as he wished, while making a better living than he had as a college professor. The magazine circulated about 800,000 copies a week in a nation whose principal occupation still was farming. Some of Lovejoy's peers questioned his move away from academia and into journalism. But Lovejoy believed that questions of land use -- particularly the reforestation of the cutover -- depended heavily on popular support. Free-lancing, he told a fellow forester, "has gotten me into contact with entirely new men and agencies through which to sell the timber-crop idea" and "has caught me a fine set of enemies that I am proud of." He was confident that he was reaching "a new audience and a big one."[6]

An agricultural audience was a logical choice, because the fate of the cutover was largely an agricultural question. Land speculators, farmers, local boosters, extension agents, and agricultural-college scientists tended to assume that former North Woods would give way to farms, much as Ohio or Indiana had. Lovejoy found that prospect unlikely, arguing instead that a "crop" of new trees was the region's best hope for long-term stability. In this respect, *The Country Gentleman* was an ideal forum for what Lovejoy called "banana-peel engineering" -- the placement of key ideas in places where key people were likely to slip on them.

The Old Land Bargain

The American "land ethos" that confronted Lovejoy in 1920 was in many respects a holdover from the 19th century. I will argue that it consisted of three elements:

1) A belief in the efficacy of widespread land dispersal and private, atomized decision-making. As recently as the 1880s, governments had used land as an economic tool for mobilization of capital and labor, both of which were in chronically short supply in most of the United States. Hundreds of millions of acres in the federal domain had essentially been given away (the price ranging from nothing to a dollar or two an acre) in hopes that settlers would occupy the land. Once in private hands, acreage became a form of wealth and collateral, thus substituting for scarce hard capital. Federal, state, and local governments undergirded this effort with a matrix of laws designed to establish property rights and to encourage economic risk-taking. Farms gave rise to towns, which attracted newcomers from the more settled areas of the East. A continued belief in Jeffersonian ideals of yeomanry only encouraged the quick dispersal of the public lands. Legal historian James Willard Hurst has argued that the public-lands policy of the 19th century was not a "laissez-faire" stance by any means. Rather, it was a calculated and deliberate effort by the government to use its most plentiful resource to further the goal of opening the continent to settlement.[7]

2) "Town building" as a means of economic uplift. For the individual settler, the prime motivator -- and, over time, the prime expectation -- was the prospect of capital gains in land. The pioneer faced years of isolation and back-breaking labor, but he could count on his land rising in value as others joined him on the frontier. In time, schools, churches and other amenities of settlement would spring up around him. The hardships of pioneer life thus were offset by the expectation of growing wealth and civility as communities expanded. "By experience and common ambition ... popular opinion accepted the legitimacy of private capital gains created substantially by general community growth," Hurst writes. The economic historian Gavin Wright has referred to this phenomenon as "town building." As defined by Wright, this "cluster of entrepreneurial pursuits" included "establishing stores, schools, and roads, arranging real estate sales, attracting services, and above all, publicizing the venture," all with the aim of boosting local land values.[8]

In 1931, geographer Isaiah Bowman noted (with some dismay) that this characteristic American optimism over land values had persisted well into the 20th century. Bowman acknowledged the innate attractiveness of the "town building" ideal and, in describing it, seemed to have succumbed to some of its charms himself. The pioneer, he wrote,

> had poorer schools and roads, less social life, a cheaper house, indeed oftener not a house at all but a hut. But he had land that was his own, and he had enough of it for a living. The comforts could wait, and he could be cheerful because he knew that he could secure them in time. A well-defined cycle of benefits, in the period between 1840 and 1890 in the Middle West country, was widely expected. Land was bound to increase in value.[9]

3) A continued official belief in the advisability of "incremental" farming. The closing of the frontier about 1890 spawned numerous anxieties, not the least of which was the fear that the United States would not be able to feed itself. Leonard A. Salter Jr., a student of land economics, has noted that this anxiety lingered into the early 1920s. Agricultural scientists and extension agents thus committed themselves unconditionally to helping farmers grow more crops. The "technical agriculturalists," as Lovejoy dubbed them, thought not in terms of whether farming was wise in a given situation, but simply whether it was possible. Every farmer added at the margin of settlement was regarded as a net gain for the larger society. In 1916, for example, the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported on a study of 801 farms in the cutover districts of northern Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The federal researchers found that many of these farms were operating just a notch above subsistence level. Nonetheless, they endorsed cutover agriculture as a sound proposition: "From a strictly business point of view these farms do not appear to be successful, but they furnish a home for the family and offer an opportunity to earn a living." The College of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin emphasized land-clearing in the cutover. Dynamite and, later, war-surplus TNT were touted as the best means for ridding the land of stubborn stumps. H.L. Russell, UW dean of agriculture, extolled the possibilities of the Wisconsin cutover in 1921. More than 100,000 farms of 80 acres each awaited settlers in the north, he proclaimed, adding: "Wisconsin is only beginning to develop her untamed empire, but in it she has rich resources whose value as yet can only be estimated."[10]

The Forester Takes to the Woods

P.S. Lovejoy was 35 years old when, in 1919, he made his first serious foray into magazine work. In a three-part series in *The Country Gentleman,* he introduced readers to the basic contours of the cutover situation. Millions of acres in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota stood vacant, even as the nation faced the possibility of a timber shortage. The Lake States, whose timber had built the settlements of the Great Plains, now had to import most of their wood products from states in the South and the Pacific Northwest. Whole counties in the former lumbering districts were "practically bankrupt," Lovejoy asserted. Contrary to boosters' assurances, the plow would not follow the axe. It was time to talk of reforestation.[11]

Even as the series hit the newsstands, Lovejoy was back in the north for his grand tour of "Cloverland." The trip was a whirlwind introduction to the booster mentality of the cutover region. John A. Doelle, secretary of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, escorted Lovejoy through the region and introduced him to extension agents, newspaper editors, businessmen and settlers. Everywhere the talk was of agriculture. The lumbering days were remembered with a certain wistfulness, but the passing of the forest was not lamented. The developers of "Cloverland" were casting about for opportunity, seeking a magic formula that would make the region bloom. The latest idea was grazing. Cutover cowboys, adorned in appropriate hats, chaps and spurs, roamed the stump-filled range that summer. The one crop that was never thought of was timber. Indeed, the forest seldom intruded on the minds of anyone in "Cloverland," even when its scruffy remnants caught fire and threatened to turn the entire region to cinders:

> The visit of an uncredentialed western ranchman set the whole district agog and clacking, but a 10,000-acre fire or a town packed into box-cars and ready to abandon homes to the ubiquitous smoke was accepted as a mere temporary discomfort or nuisance. And kindly to observe our rutabagas. Are they not excellent rutabagas?
>
> No agricultural fantasy seemed to be too extreme to be acceptable. My inquiry as to the prospects for a tomato canning factory on the shores of Lake Superior was seriously accepted and debated.[12]

The above paragraphs were written for *American Forestry,* whose readers presumably shared Lovejoy's views on the futility of cutover agriculture. In *The Country Gentleman,* Lovejoy's tone was far more circumspect. His years in academia had not blinded him to the social and political mores of the north country. While a forestry student at Michigan, he had worked alongside rough-hewn lumberjacks in the fast-disappearing woods (Lovejoy had been measuring and otherwise studying the trees as the lumbermen cut them down). He understood the lumberjacks' disdain for "college boys" and for reforestation, which presumably would prevent honest homesteaders from establishing farms in the wilderness. Lovejoy realized, too, that "many farmers have followed their dads and grand-dads in hating the trees and the stumps which kept their plows from the good fields." Lovejoy knew he would have to acknowledge popular beliefs before offering something in their place. He wrote many of his cutover articles as running dialogues, often with himself in the role of innocent rube conversing with a skeptical reader. In one piece he extolled the virtues of "Cloverland" at great length until the exasperated reader told him, "Lay off the poetry and get down to it." At which point, of course, he did.[13]

Lovejoy was a skillful and patient polemicist. He never scolded his readers. Rather, he outlined the conventional wisdom about land-use questions -- then systematically tore it apart. One article in the 1919 series, for example, included a picture of a young family arrayed in front of a rude log cabin in the woods. To readers old enough to remember the pioneer era (and in 1919, there would have been plenty), the picture must have struck a chord of nostalgia and sympathy. Perhaps the frontier was not gone after all! Lovejoy recognized such yearning himself:

> We are still close to the old pioneer days. Everybody takes a sympathetic interest in the new regions and, on occasion, helps out the fellows who have the nerve to pioneer it to-day. Didn't Lincoln live in a log cabin?[14]

Indeed he did, Lovejoy assured his readers. He had lived in several of them. In one instance, the Lincoln family had spent 14 years farming "niggardly" soil in Indiana before realizing that the situation was hopeless and moving to Illinois. Lovejoy checked the census data for that Indiana county and found that its population had fallen by 8 percent from 1910 to 1920. Apparently farmers there were still learning hard lessons, just as the Lincolns had. Wouldn't it be sensible, Lovejoy asked his audience, for government to lend a hand by identifying lands where farming would pay -- and lands where it almost certainly would not?[15]

Despite the relatively gentle approach, Lovejoy's early cutover articles drew an avalanche of mail. A lumberman-turned-land-seller complained that Lovejoy must have been "blindfolded and had his ears stuffed with cotton, to write many of his statements." The man threatened to "tell on" Lovejoy to the dean of his state's agricultural college. A Minnesota real-estate operator called the articles "venomous and exaggerated." A chamber of commerce official said they were "calculated to do us tremendous damage." Yet, as if to suggest that attitudes in the north country were vulnerable to persuasion, the mail was not entirely hostile. One reader enclosed a clipping telling how an Iowa man, who had bought a Michigan cutover farm in the dead of winter, killed himself when he saw what the land looked like with the snow off.[16]

That sad story, and others like it, provided the catalyst for a theme Lovejoy was to stress time and again:

the idea of "service in land deals." Lovejoy knew it was fruitless to argue that the huge majority of the cutover was suited only to growing trees. The idea of "town building" was too strongly ingrained at the local level; to tell local boosters that their land should revert to forest was to invite a fistfight. (It is noteworthy that local boosters sometimes referred to the forest as a "jungle," and reforestation as "re-jungle-ization," as if it were something that flew entirely in the face of common sense.) Instead, Lovejoy stressed that land should be inventoried, and that governments should clearly identify the lands that were most likely to provide a decent living to farmers. It was a clever strategy, for Lovejoy was taking the farm community's traditional hostility to forestry and turning it on its head. If the "best" lands were identified, by extension the "worst" ones (those more suited to forestry) would be too. No longer would the cutover farmer toil for years on unpromising soil. Instead, he would invest his time and energy in places most likely to repay the investment. Certainly there was a hint of government paternalism here, but to Lovejoy the proposal also smacked of plain common sense. Unless a plot of land could guarantee "a genuine and first-class chance for a good, safe living and reasonable profits," he wrote, its development constituted "mere wildcatting and something to be stopped."[17]

In a 1921 article, Lovejoy applauded Wisconsin's state government, which had taken tentative steps to warn prospective settlers against land fraud. (This was a vivid contrast with other states, whose officials often assembled "sucker lists" of land-seekers and provided them to real estate agents.) He also endorsed the idea of planned communities in the woods, whose developers would provide roads, farm houses and outbuildings, even livestock. "Ways must be found to let the pioneer settler get on his feet and going." Lovejoy probably doubted that many land-sellers would make such an investment of time and money -- and in fact, few of them did. But he was astute enough to know that, while he built his case for forestry, he could not appear hostile to the farmer.[18]

Schools of Thought

Agricultural colleges earned their keep by helping farmers. Not surprisingly, scientists at the University of Wisconsin and at other schools regarded the cutover as a distinct challenge. An "atmosphere of glowing optimism" pervaded the UW's agricultural labs in the early 1920s, one student of the period has written. Extension agents and experiment stations focused special attention on the north, dealing with problems such as stump-pulling, selection of farm sites, and the search for hardy crop varieties. With help from the experts, it was believed that individual effort by the farmer would succeed in expanding the margins of settlement. Each new acre that yielded to the plow was regarded as a victory. The problem, in Lovejoy's view, was that the agricultural colleges had failed to distinguish "between agricultural *possibilities* and agricultural *practicabilities.* The real issue is not one of farming technology but one of land economics. The agronomist and farmer 'might', but *have* they?"[19]

The solution, as Lovejoy saw it, was not just individual initiative or local boosterism (even if conducted in good faith, which Lovejoy assumed most of it was), but the collection and application of aggregate data regarding the cutover. This, in short, was the new science of land economics. Without the facts, land-use problems were certain "to snarl worse and worse," Lovejoy believed. Wisconsin's Richard T. Ely, one of the foremost academics of his era, pioneered in land economics and applied many of his findings to policy formulation for the cutover. "The thrust of these policies," one historian has written, "was to use scientific planning and government-directed coordination to induce efficiency, profitability, and social stability." Lovejoy repeatedly applauded Ely's work, including his efforts to discourage settlement on "counterfeit," or substandard, crop land. "From now on," Lovejoy declared about 1922, "instead of merely guessing or lying about it, we are due to get the facts as to the use of land and to base land use and land development on those facts."[20]

Until about 1925, thought regarding the cutover was seriously in flux. Land economists and agriculturalists often worked at odds. The confusion and conflict in academic circles was replicated elsewhere. One barometer of such confusion was the Tri-State Development Congress. Called by the governors of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the Congress met annually from 1921 to 1924 to discuss cutover development. C.L. Harrington, Wisconsin's chief forester, attended the meeting at Milwaukee in 1922. Most of its sessions, he told Lovejoy, "dealt with carloads of dynamite, 450,000 new settlers," and optimistic forecasts for land-clearing. The role of forestry was acknowledged, but "no one has yet been found to pay the bill." Other camps were boosting the region as a tourist haven, the "Playground of the Middle West," "but there will soon be no playgrounds left, if everything is busted up with trainloads of dynamite," Harrington noted sardonically. A.D. Campbell, Wisconsin's former commissioner of immigration, assured Lovejoy that farmers could make a go of it in the cutover if they only got a boost from government, a "grubstake" that would tide them over until they cleared enough land to start making profits. Millions of federal dollars were being spent on Western reclamation projects; why not divert some of that cash to cutover settlers? Lovejoy's blunt dismissal of the scheme seemed to indicate his growing exasperation for those who assumed cutover prosperity was just around the corner: "If the lands are 'supreme' and ... there is a widespread desire on the part of small farmers to acquire land for farming, just why should it be necessary to involve federal tax money in developing these lands?"[21]

Lovejoy defined conservation as "reason applied to environment." His arguments for reforestation relied on methodical, rational explication of the cutover problem and its possible solutions. The strategy was deliberate. Lovejoy recognized that conservation, in the early 1920s, drew its support from myriad sources: women's clubs interested in questions of aesthetic beauty and moral uplift, sportsmen concerned with the propagation of fish and game stocks, and tourism promoters with visions of northern riches, to name just a few. He was keenly aware that the well-meaning agitation of all these groups might succeed only in muddying the waters of the conservation movement. So Lovejoy fashioned his argument as a no-nonsense, common-sense appeal to the farmer, phrased in economic terms. Not once in his *Country Gentleman* writings did Lovejoy mention the beauty of the forest, or the power of a wooded landscape to refresh the soul of an urban dweller. Even the term "forestry" had a "sort of taint" about it, he believed, mixed as it was with "old and sticky sentiment and sickly old-maid ideas." Blaming lumbermen for the waste of the north country served no good purpose, since it involved "moral considerations rather than economic."[22]

Lovejoy's mission was to lay out the cutover problem in clear, simple terms for a mass audience. By the end of 1922, he had largely succeeded. What remained was to link the cutover question to a larger crisis in land use in the United States, and to issue an unambiguous call to action.

In "Settling the East," a seven-part part series in *The Country Gentleman,* Lovejoy revealed that the Lake States' problems with idle land were hardly unique: Despite a barrage of promotion by state governments and private interests, some 200 million acres east of the Mississippi River lay idle and unproductive. Aggregate data told the story of this swelling acreage in stark terms that boosterism could not refute. Just weeks after the series concluded, Lovejoy traveled to Menominee, Michigan, where he was keynote speaker at the Tri-State Development Congress for 1923. "The old ways and formulae and slogans have failed abominably," he told an audience of several hundred boosters, agriculturalists and government officials. In Michigan, 600,000 acres had already reverted for nonpayment of taxes. Forest and farm development should proceed in tandem -- but for anyone to hope that farms could possibly fill 40 million acres in the Lake States in the foreseeable future was a fantasy. Lovejoy's frank talk "proved a revelation to many," a reporter noted.[23]

In the pages of *The Country Gentleman,* Lovejoy recalled later, he had tried to play the role of "translator of the technician to the barbershop." Without gush or sentiment, he had issued a challenge to many of the prevailing ideas about land use in the north. To be sure, the old ideas -- particularly the Jeffersonian belief in yeoman farming and the local emphasis on "town building" -- would not yield easily. With the struggle in progress, Lovejoy could not be sure to what extent his ideas were being heard or accepted. In 1922 he summed up his experience for a fellow forester:

> It's a queer experience -- this being out of the roil of forest things, looking in, trying to pick out the typical phases and make pictures of them; trying to discuss them without rancor and still accent whatever seems to need accent. Nobody can hope to do a perfectly balanced job of it, I suppose, and I shall be blamed and cursed and thanked tearfully no doubt -- but don't much care -- so long as the idea of timber-the-crop begins to get over, and especially to the farmers of the country.[24]

During his years as a journalist, Lovejoy had never really left the academic or professional realms. The cross-pollenization of scholarly, professional and popular ideas, in fact, had lent his writing a certain energy and insight that few other magazine scribes could muster. In 1923, professional conservation work called again: Lovejoy was asked to help organize the Michigan Land Economic Survey, a project closely mirroring his desire for data collection in the cutovers. It was too good an opportunity to pass up, so Lovejoy left the tenuous world of full-time free-lancing in exchange for a brand of government work that was close to his heart.[25]

Coda: The Vision Fulfilled

"If words would make trees grow," the *Journal of Forestry* observed in 1926, "the United States would be the most thickly wooded country in the world." Everyone, it seemed, was talking of forestry -- "Women's Clubs, Rotarians, Kiwanians, hundreds of Civic Clubs of every description ... sportsmen, nature lovers," even real-estate promoters and, lately, lumbermen themselves. Yet the destruction of the woods proceeded apace, reforestation was in its infancy, and efforts at systematic forest-fire suppression had proved barely adequate. The forestry movement, it seemed, had degenerated into a Babel of well-meaning talk without depth, coherence or effectiveness. "We are off either on our economics or ... psychology," the *Journal* concluded.[26]

Actually, what forestry needed in the later 1920s was a convergence of harsh economic reality and diffuse public sentiment. P.S. Lovejoy had predicted as much in 1922, in a letter to his editor at *The Country Gentleman.* Americans had to be "shocked out of the old notion" that all vacant lands would yield to the plow, and that individual initiative was sufficient to solve the land-use problem. Rejuvenation of the cutover would require government-coordinated social engineering on a scale never before seen, except perhaps in wartime. Public sentiment, while useful to the foresters' cause, focused mostly on individual initiative. Voluntary, small-scale, feel-good efforts -- such as Arbor Day tree plantings -- would not suffice. In a fundamentally conservative era, citizens would need hard evidence before assenting to an expansion of government power and centralized planning in a landscape that had epitomized rugged individualism. Regrettably, the catalyst for meaningful action would have to be a crisis.[27]

The crisis was tax reversion. In Wisconsin, whose experience was typical of the Lake States, the population of the cutover actually was less in 1930 than it had been in 1920. Land values in 14 of the 18 cutover counties fell during the decade. Lagging crop prices meant that many of the settlers who had taken on debt during the land-selling boom after World War I now could not make payments. The federal clampdown on immigration had dried up a stream of potential pioneers. At the urging of land economists, the agricultural college and state government had stopped promoting settlement in the mid-1920s. In 1927, a mortgage banker reported that farm land in northern Wisconsin was "not saleable." Property-tax bills, small as they were, became too much for land owners to bear. Slowly at first, then at an accelerating rate, individual settlers and large-scale speculators abandoned their lands and stopped paying their taxes. The lands reverted to county governments in Wisconsin, and to the state governments of Michigan and Minnesota.[28]

The statistics were nothing less than staggering. Two and a half million acres of Wisconsin cutover land -- about one-quarter of the land in 17 northern counties -- were put up for sale for nonpayment of taxes in 1927 alone. Only 18 percent of the land was resold. The rest remained with the counties, where it sat idle, fed forest fires, and produced not a penny in tax revenue. Large areas of the cutover seemed to have "little present market value for any purpose," a team of researchers reported. The growing tax delinquency meant that the cost of government services, such as schools and roads, increasingly was borne by smaller and smaller numbers of citizens. As a result, delinquency itself threatened to cause more delinquency, in a ruinous spiral whose end could only be guessed at. The land economist Benjamin Hibbard saw an ironic turnabout of policy in the tax-reversion crisis: After years of giving away the public domain, governments now were getting that domain back, whether they really wanted it or not. The challenge was what to do with it.[29]

By the end of the 1920s, the 19th-century "land ethos" had completely unraveled in the north. Widespread land dispersal had not been an engine for economic growth or for the attraction of capital or labor. The promise of "town building" and its attendant capital gains in land had proved to be a cruel joke for the area's pioneers. In many places, the frontier of settlement actually was receding; thus the settlers who had hoped for an influx of social amenities increasingly found themselves isolated from neighbors and markets. And despite the push for incremental agriculture, the cutover had not become a land of farms.

Especially with the coming of the Great Depression, the Lake States embraced reforestation and a host of related land-use innovations for lack of any visible alternative. These measures included public acquisition of northern lands for state and national forests; rural zoning to discourage scattered settlement in forest areas; and special tax abatements and state assistance to encourage the growing of timber as a crop by local governments and private owners. Government-financed fire-control efforts assured long-term protection for such previously overlooked assets as young forests, recreational ventures, scenic beauty and wildlife. All of these measures, according to James Willard Hurst, "used law to install social accounting alongside the private books of account which the nineteenth century had thought sufficient for calculating the input and output of the economy." Rural zoning, for example, recognized the "social overhead costs" of providing roads and schools to widely dispersed residents in remote areas; it curtailed the individual's freedom to live where he wished in favor of a larger societal interest in economic efficiency. And while 19th-century lumber companies had lacked any motivation to grow timber as a crop, governments by the 1920s had come to recognize the forest's potential role in regional rehabilitation and economic stability.[30]

What role had Lovejoy -- and journalism -- played in this revolution? Even before 1920, Lovejoy had recognized that most of his fellow conservationists were too isolated and too parochial, focusing on narrow matters of technical proficiency. Silviculturalists, for example, specialized in the growing of trees, but many of them lacked the political or economic savvy to make winning arguments for wide-scale reforestation. Technical proficiency had to be joined with economic rationale and political muscle, Lovejoy believed, if the longstanding "land ethos" was to be toppled in the north country. The ethos, in fact, might have lingered for years if not for the coming of an economic triple whammy: the nationwide farm slump in the 1920s, the tax-reversion crisis in the cutover, and the onset of the Great Depression, with its attendant mandate for widespread social planning and public-employment programs. A handful of conservation writers could not bring on the revolution by themselves. But they could tutor the public and the experts alike on what to do when the crisis boiled over.[31]

After 1923, Lovejoy never returned to full-time magazine work. Instead, he practiced his "banana-peel engineering" from within, as a staff member at the Michigan Department of Conservation. After working on the Land Economic Survey, he helped establish a system of game refuges. In 1930 he suffered a disabling stroke, and afterward his health was precarious. Until his death in 1942, Lovejoy served as a gadfly-at-large within the Conservation Department. His focus ranged from fisheries to forests to fire protection and public education. His constant enemy was the "sacred cow," the tired or trite conservation practice that did not conform with Lovejoy's quest for efficiency. Harold Titus, a prominent Michigan conservation writer, summed up Lovejoy's contribution thusly: "It was P.S. who was everlastingly leading and prodding until the plan was more than wish or lines on paper and had become reality."[32]

"The parentage of ideas about men and land is seldom recorded at all," the ecologist Aldo Leopold wrote shortly after Lovejoy's death. Leopold noted that any person could go the Patent Office and discover the intellectual lineage of such mundane inventions as "egg-openers, iceboxes, and cigarette lighters." But the history of ecological ideas was not nearly as discernible. Still, Leopold offered a bold pronouncement on the subject: "I believe that P.S. Lovejoy sired more ideas about men and land than any contemporary in the conservation field." Two decades earlier in *The Country Gentleman,* Lovejoy had entrusted the general populace with a set of profoundly radical ideas about the forest, confident that the public, when armed with the facts, would take the right path. His driving principle, and his enduring contribution, was his insistence that conservation was not so much a technical endeavor as a social one.[33]

###

NOTES

[1] P.S. Lovejoy, "In the Name of Development," *American Forestry* 29 (July, 1923), pp. 387-393; 447.

[2] P.S. Lovejoy, "The Grazing Boom in Cloverland: Where Sure Feed and Water Are Proclaimed," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXV:11 (March 13, 1920), pp. 6-7; 64.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] P.S. Lovejoy, "Settling the East: Michigan Tackles Job, Building From the Ground Up," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXVII:41 (November 18, 1922), pp. 7; 26; P.S. Lovejoy, "Settling the East: Ballyhooing a Failure, Our States Grope for New Methods," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXVII:35 (October 7, 1922), pp. 8; 32-33.

[5] Richard H. Stroud, ed., *National Leaders of American Conservation* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), p. 250; Norman J. Schmaltz, "P.S. Lovejoy: Michigan's Cantankerous Conservationist," *Journal of Forest History* 19:2 (April, 1975), pp. 72-81. Lovejoy's talent for communicating high-minded ideals to ordinary citizens may have been genetically ingrained. His grandfather, Owen Lovejoy, was a firebrand abolitionist congressman from Illinois. His great-uncle, the Illinois editor Elijah Parish Lovejoy, was murdered by an angry mob for his staunch anti-slavery views in 1837, becoming one of the best-known martyrs to the abolitionist cause. Schmaltz, "P.S. Lovejoy," p. 74.

[6] James Playsted Wood, *The Curtis Magazines* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1971), pp. 57-61, 86, 112; P.S. Lovejoy to Austin Cary, October 20, 1921, in Box 4 of the P.S. Lovejoy papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (hereinafter referred to as PSL papers). *The Country Gentleman* of the early 1920s was manifestly a farm magazine, not a journal for fashionably rural suburbanites. It carried ads for tractors, chick brooders, cream separators and home electrification equipment. In the face of a declining farm population, the magazine went monthly in 1925 and adopted a softer "lifestyle" focus. Though its circulation exceeded two million in the early 1950s, it lacked a coherent vision and could not deliver a desirable audience to advertisers. The magazine died in 1955. Wood, *The Curtis Magazines,* pp. 215-225.

[7] James Willard Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap / Harvard, 1964). Also instructive in this regard is Gary D. Libecap, *Contracting for Property Rights* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge

University Press, 1989). Fealty to the Jeffersonian ideal during the 19th century was so strong that government never divined a workable means of dispersing the large tracts of timberland that were unsuitable to agriculture. Timber companies had to acquire the land fraudulently, usually by contracting with bogus settlers to file claims. Two economic historians have argued that the costs of fraud and the attendant uncertainty over property rights led to a significant -- and, in their view, unnecessary -- dissipation of land rents for timber cutters in the Pacific Northwest. Gary D. Libecap and Ronald N. Johnson, "Property Rights, Nineteenth-Century Federal Timber Policy, and the Conservation Movement," *Journal of Economic History* 39:1 (March, 1979), pp. 129-142.

[8] Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth,* p. 29; Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), pp. 23-24. Interestingly, Wright defines "town building" as a Northern phenomenon, saying it was largely absent in the South because local elites there held most of their capital in the form of human beings -- that is, slaves. Even after the Civil War, he says, many Southerners were more interested in perpetuating a low-wage economy than they were in raising local land values through development.

[9] Isaiah Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1931), p. 25.

[10] Leonard A. Salter Jr., *A Critical Review of Research in Land Economics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 5-38, 83-129; J.C. McDowell and W.B. Walker, *Farming on the Cut-Over Lands of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota,* USDA Bulletin 425, October 24, 1916; John Swenehart, *Clear More Land,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 320, December, 1920; H.L. Russell, *Farms Follow Stumps,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 332, April, 1921. Russell's enthusiasm may have been fueled by the fact that he was an active speculator in cutover lands. Robert J. Gough, "Richard T. Ely and the Development of the Wisconsin Cutover," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 75:1 (Autumn, 1991), pp. 3-38.

[11] P.S. Lovejoy, "For the Land's Sake: The Planting of New Forests Should Begin Without Delay," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXIV:30 (July 26, 1919), pp. 8-9; 41. Earlier installments of the series ran on July 12 and 19. Here, as elsewhere, Lovejoy was melding elements of academic study and journalistic observation. The arguments in the series closely mirrored a paper he had delivered to the annual meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science, in which he declared that much of northern Michigan would support "timber or nothing." Norman John Schmaltz, *Cutover Land*

Crusade: The Michigan Forest Conservation Movement, 1899-1931 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972), pp. 88-89.

[12] Lovejoy, "In the Name of Development," p. 392.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 387; P.S. Lovejoy to John E. Pickett, March 18, 1920, Box 4, PSL papers; P.S. Lovejoy, "Cloverland: A Part-Time Empire," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXV:9 (February 28, 1920), pp. 3-4; 42; 44.

[14] P.S. Lovejoy, "It Does Not Pay to Work Land Which It Does Not Pay to Work: But Our Cut-Over Lands Can Duplicate a Crop They Once Produced," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXIV:29 (July 19, 1919), pp. 10-11; 32.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] P.S. Lovejoy, "The Promised Land: In the Northern Cut-Over Country Lies America's Great Ungrasped Opportunity," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXV:51 (December 18, 1920), pp. 3-4; 32.

[17] P.S. Lovejoy to John E. Pickett, August 8, 1922, Box 5, PSL papers; P.S. Lovejoy, "Agricultural Development," unpublished manuscript, circa 1922, Box 5, PSL papers.

[18] P.S. Lovejoy, "The Promised Land: The Wisconsin Idea in the Cut-Overs," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXVI:1 (January 1, 1921), pp. 4-5; 30; 32.

[19] Arlan Helgeson, *Farms in the Cutover: Agricultural Settlement in Northern Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962), pp. 97-117; P.S. Lovejoy, "State Land Policy in Michigan," paper prepared for delivery to Society of American Foresters meeting, Boston, 1922, Box 4, PSL papers (emphasis in original).

[20] Lovejoy, "Settling the East: Ballyhooing a Failure," p. 32; Gough, "Richard T. Ely," p. 3; Lovejoy, "Agricultural Development."

[21] C.L. Harrington to P.S. Lovejoy, March 9, 1922, Box 4, PSL papers; A.D. Campbell to P.S. Lovejoy, September 18, 1922, Box 5, PSL papers; P.S. Lovejoy to A.D. Campbell, September 14, 1922, Box 5, PSL papers.

[22] P.S. Lovejoy to John E. Pickett, March 18, 1920, Box 4, PSL papers; P.S. Lovejoy to Austin Cary, November 1, 1922, Box 4, PSL papers.

[23] P.S. Lovejoy, "Settling the East: Its Empire of Idle Acres Is Increasing," *The Country Gentleman* LXXXVII:34 (September 30, 1922), pp. 1-2; 16 (series continued through November 18, 1922); P.S. Lovejoy, "Farm and Forest Development in the

Cutovers," paper prepared for Tri-State Development Congress, Menominee, Michigan, January 18, 1923, in Box 5, PSL papers; *Menominee Herald-Leader,* January 18, 1923, in Box 5, PSL papers.

[24] P.S. Lovejoy to Austin Cary, November 1, 1922, Box 4, PSL papers.

[25] "Parrish [sic] S. Lovejoy, 1884-1942," *Journal of Forestry* 40:4 (April, 1942), p. 337.

[26] "Forest Propaganda and Forestry," *Journal of Forestry* 24:4 (April, 1926), p. 331.

[27] P.S. Lovejoy to John E. Pickett, June 19, 1922, Box 5, PSL papers.

[28] Gough, "Richard T. Ely," p. 26.

[29] B.H. Hibbard, John Swenehart, W.A. Hartman and B.W. Allin, *Tax Delinquency in Northern Wisconsin,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 399, June, 1928; Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth,* p. 85. Ironically, just a few years before, John Swenehart had been the UW's leading proponent on the use of explosives for clearing cutover lands.

[30] Erling D. Solberg, *New Laws for New Forests: Wisconsin's Forest-Fire, Tax, Zoning, and County-Forest Laws in Operation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth,* p. 602. A number of historians have pointed out that 19th-century lumber companies essentially "mined" timber as they found it; they lacked the sophisticated accounting methods necessary to determine the costs and benefits of growing timber as a crop, a process that might take 80 years or more. From an economic standpoint, the lumbermen had absolutely no reason to make such an investment in the Lake States, because plenty of old-growth timber was available elsewhere, particularly in the Pacific Northwest. In time, the more prescient companies, such as Weyerhaeuser, realized that they would have to invest in the future just as governments did.

[31] In "Richard T. Ely," Robert J. Gough has rendered a harsh judgment against Ely and other land economists and social planners who helped remold the cutover region beginning in the 1920s. Gough sees a virulent strain of elitism in Ely's work, arguing that the professor used the imperatives of social planning to wipe out an essentially healthy way of life based on subsistence farming and backwoods neighborliness. While this article influenced my thought tremendously, I still think its conclusion is fundamentally misguided. Gough invokes the incredible statistics about tax

reversion but does not really heed their message: If cutover farming was really a viable enterprise, why did the north country experience a veritable economic Holocaust in the 1920s? I suspect, too, that some of Gough's anecdotal evidence about the cutover farmers' easygoing ways may have come from the same tainted wells of prejudice that prompted Ely and others to conclude that those farmers were lazy or inept. After reading this article, though, I certainly will be more alert for signs of class contempt, paternalism or xenophobia among the downstate "experts" who helped rehabilitate the cutover. Lovejoy seems to have been largely free of such sentiment, though he did speak at one point of the Michigan cutover "breeding paupers and morons and fires." P.S. Lovejoy to Austin Cary, November 1, 1922, Box 4, PSL papers.

[32] Harold Titus, "Conservation Loses a Leader," *Michigan Conservation* 11:3 (February-March, 1942). An example of Lovejoy's constant war on "sacred cows" was his crusade leading to the establishment of the Institute for Fisheries Research at the University of Michigan. Fisheries management dated to the 19th century, but biologists had focused mainly on the artificial propagation of fish stocks, not on the integrated study of fish habitat and reproduction. The new institute pioneered in what might be called the "wholistic" study of the life cycle of fishes, with the aim of stocking fish where they were most likely to thrive and to bring enjoyment to anglers and economic benefits to communities. The institute's first director, Albert S. Hazzard, was my maternal grandfather.

[33] Aldo Leopold, "Obituary: P.S. Lovejoy," *Journal of Wildlife Management* 7:1 (January, 1943), pp. 125-128. Leopold would become the best-known conservationist of his generation, while Lovejoy would fade into relative obscurity. There are a number of reasons for this. Lovejoy, unlike Leopold, never enunciated his principles in a book. He also dealt with problems, such as reforestation, that were largely tackled within his lifetime. Lovejoy also wrote in the characteristic snappy patter of the 1920s, a prose style that has not worn well with time. By contrast, Leopold's masterpiece, *A Sand County Almanac* (1947), has a timeless meditative beauty about it; the book was not widely discovered until the 1960s and today seems more relevant than ever.

CS

Presidents Madison and Monroe and the Party Press in Transition, 1808-1824

by

David R. Davies
Graduate Student, University of Alabama
2803 Williamsburg Road
Hattiesburg, MS 39402

Submitted to the 1994 paper competition
of the American Journalism Historians Association

Presidents Madison and Monroe and the Party Press in Transition, 1808-1824

The presidential administrations of James Madison and James Monroe mark a distinctive transition period within the party press era. The rabidly partisan newspapers of 1808 had changed markedly by 1824.

Before and during the War of 1812, the party press was as partisan and mean-spirited as ever. But when the Federalist Party lost national influence following the war, the party press was left with only one party to rally around, the Democratic-Republicans. The brief "Era of Good Feelings" of the early Monroe years softened the vituperative edge of the party press, though editors continued to do battle on behalf of preferred politicians and sectional interests.

Newspapers that had divided along party lines in 1808 had realigned by 1824 behind the various Democratic-Republican candidates to succeed Monroe. The stage was now set for the re-emergence of political parties in the age of Jackson, when newspapers once again lined up by party. The Madison and Monroe years had proven to be a distinctive era of change for the party press, a little-understood transition period in an era that itself has been largely misunderstood.

Yet this middle transition period of the party press has been largely unnoticed because the press in the Madison and Monroe administrations has been seldom studied by journalism historians. The party press era is usually discussed only in terms of the early national period -- the Adams and Jefferson administrations in particular -- and the age of Jackson, if that era is broadly defined as beginning with Jackson's first run for the presidency in the contentious presidential election of 1824.[1] The party press period is incorrectly regarded as a static era in which party organs battled each other in vituperative political attacks throughout the period.

Until recently, journalism historians have tended to denigrate the party press for its party ties and to make irrelevant comparisons with the advertising-driven, independent press that followed. Veteran journalist Frederic Hudson, writing in 1873, derided the party press as "bound to party" and set the tone for much of the critical historiography that followed.[2] Hudson and succeeding generations of historians, most notably Frank Luther Mott, dismissed the party press out of hand. To Mott, the party press marked "the dark ages of American journalism." Editors in this period, Mott believed, were vituperative individuals who sold out the public good for party interests and who engaged in vicious attacks against one other.[3]

---

[1] GeorgeHenry Payne, History of Journalism in the United States (New York: Appleton and Co., 1920), covers the Jefferson years, skips Madison's two terms, covers Monroe briefly, then skips over John Quincy Adams' presidency to the Jackson era. Frank Luther Mott's American Journalism: A History, 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), for many years the standard undergraduate college text, covers Madison and Monroe but is so negative about the party press as not to be illuminating. Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988) and Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James D. Startt, eds., The Media in America, 2d ed., (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, Inc., 1993) both touch only briefly on the Madison and Monroe years. A search of the standard bibliographies of journalism history found that very little scholarship has accumulated on the press in the Madison and Monroe administrations. Two exceptions are Robert A. Rutland, "Madison, the Fourth President and the Press," Media History Digest 3 (1983): 21-25, which describes Madison's views on the press but does not touch on his years in the White House, and Harry Ammon, "The Fifth President and the Press," Media History Digest 3 (1983): 22-28.

More recently, historians have begun to analyze the party press on its own terms, arguing that it is illogical to evaluate newspapers of the early Nineteenth Century in terms of how they compared with the independent journalism that developed later.[4] Nonetheless, this recent perspective has not been applied vigorously to the newspapers in the Madison and Monroe administrations -- the middle, transition years of the party press.

---

[2] Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872 (1873; reprint., New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 142. Though Hudson's account of the party press years are often opinionated, he provides a full, though early, account of the various party newspapers. See p. 141-157.

[3] Mott, American Journalism, 168.

[4] See William David Sloan, "The Early Party Press: The Newspaper Role in American Politics, 1788-1812," Journalism History 9 (1982): 18-24; William David Sloan, "Scurrility and the Party Press, 1789-1816," American Journalism 5 (1988): 97-112; and Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Press and Politics In the Age of Jackson," Journalism Monographs 89 (1984). William E. Ames and Dwight L. Teeter, "Politics, Economics, and the Mass Media," in Ronald T. Farrar and John D. Stevens, eds., Mass Media and the National Experience (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 38-63, argue convincingly that early Nineteenth Century newspapers served to help their readers understand the political debate of the day but weren't subject to "that hobgoblin of twentieth century journalism, objectivity. The duty of the administrative organ was to persuade, not to educate." (p. 56)

Madison and Monroe
and the administration organ:
the National Intelligencer

In one way at least, the party press changed little during the middle years: Presidents Madison and Monroe each continued to use one newspaper as a party organ of the Democratic-Republicans, and that newspaper was the National Intelligencer. The Intelligencer explained the administration's positions and traded barbs with the opposition Federalist press.

This was to be expected in the party press era, when most newspapers were supported by political parties, either by direct subsidies or government printing contracts. Newspapers existed to move the party faithful and win converts, not necessarily to provide a summary of the day's events. Party support was crucial to most newspapers' survival, given that advertising provided relatively little income in this pre-industrial age. Newspapers were usually a direct arm of either the Federalist party, which elected John Adams in 1796, or the Republican party of Thomas Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe.

The National Intelligencer was no different. Since its founding in 1800 by Samuel Harrison Smith, the Intelligencer had served as the administration organ for Thomas Jefferson. It was only natural, then, that Jefferson's fellow Republicans, Madison and Monroe, continued to rely upon the Intelligencer as presidential organ among the nation's newspapers.[5]

The beginning of Madison's presidency coincided roughly with the beginning of new leadership at the Intelligencer. Joseph Gales, Jr., son of the Republican editor Joseph Gales, Sr., of the Raleigh Register, had begun an apprenticeship at the newspaper in 1807 and bought the paper effective August 31, 1810. Gales and William Winston Seaton, who became a partner in the enterprise beginning in 1812, jointly operated the newspaper, which remained the administrative organ until 1824.

Gales declared his Republican principles from the time he took over the Intelligencer in 1810, but he wrote in his diary that he was under no restrictions "to pursue any line of conduct toward the Public or towards the Administration." Gales did not think that Madison, who was on his annual visit to the Virginia countryside that August, was even consulted on the changing of the guard at the newspaper.[6]

---

[5] In fact, Madison was one of the Republican leaders Smith had written asking for support in founding the newspaper. See Samuel Harrison Smith to James Madison, 27 August 1800, James Madison Papers, Vol. 21, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Early history of the National Intelligencer is taken from William E. Ames, A History of the National Intelligencer (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1972). For additional information about Madison and Monroe's views of the press, see James E. Pollard, Presidents and the Press (New York: Macmillan, 1947).

[6] National Intelligencer, 31 August 1810; Diary of Joseph Gales, Jr., 1 September 1810, quoted in the National Intelligencer, 30 July 1857. This issue and several other 1857 issues of the Intelligencer reprinted Gales' recollections of the newspaper's early years along with excerpts from his diary.

In his first month as editor, Gales met with Secretary of State Robert Smith several times to acquaint himself with the administration. On one visit, Gales asked whether he should make a statement about the delicate negotiations over France's trade restrictions against the United States. The controversial negotiations had already caused Republican and Federalist papers to abuse each other roundly, but Smith stressed the official character of the National Intelligencer and told Gales to wait. As Gales remembered it, Smith "beat a good deal around the bush; his object was to convince me that I should not make any comments at all, but be a mere pliant instrument."[7]

Finally, on October 17, 1810, Gales summoned the courage to visit Madison. He was so nervous he passed Madison's door several times before he could acquire the courage to ring the doorbell. He found Madison difficult to talk to, with "an air of severity about him which is anything but encouraging." Gales consoled himself that he had to visit Madison. "I performed a duty to myself and my establishment in visiting him," he wrote in his diary.[8] Similarly, duty forced Gales to attend a social gathering with the president and his cabinet the next week.[9]

---

[7] Gales, Jr., diary, 27 September 1810, quoted in the National Intelligencer, 30 July 1857.

[8] Gales, Jr., diary, 17 October 1810, quoted in the National Intelligencer, 30 July 1857.

[9] Gales, Jr., diary, 24 October 1810, quoted in the National Intelligencer, 30 July 1857.

After several false starts, Gales began to earn the administration's trust. By the spring of 1812, the National Intelligencer was so in tune with the administration that one scholar has commented that it was often difficult to tell who was writing the editorials.[10] The administration laid out its position by sending frequent directives to the Intelligencer office on what the newspaper should publish.[11] Madison's cabinet members, including Monroe, sometimes wrote unsigned articles for the National Intelligencer themselves.[12]

Monroe, upon becoming president, kept the same relationship with the National Intelligencer during his administration as had Madison and Jefferson. John Quincy Adams' diary notes that Gales and Seaton sometimes asked the administration about issues. Adams said that material was sent to the newspaper from time to time for publication and that Gales sometimes visited Monroe to inquire about particular articles.[13]

After the War of 1812 began, Gales and Seaton not only took up for the Republican position, but they also ridiculed

---

[10] Howard Mahan, "Joseph Gales and the War of 1812," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957, 148-156.

[11] Monroe to Joseph Gales, Jr., 3 April 1812, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library, New York.

[12] Monroe to unnamed correspondent, undated letter, Monroe Papers, Vol. 20, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Monroe to Joseph Gales, Jr., 21 July 1815 Monroe Papers; Adams' diary, 24 July 1818, quoted in Charles Francis Adams, ed., Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1874-1877), 4:116.

[13] 24 July 1818, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 4:116.

Federalist editors for opposing the war, saying, "This is the season for bravado."[14] Gales and Seaton dismissed as a "nest of reptiles" the delegates to the Hartford Convention, the meeting of New England Federalists that drafted a set of grievances against the federal government.[15]

When British Admiral George Cockburn burned Washington in 1814, he targeted government buildings and also burned the National Intelligencer office "under the bare-faced pretext that it was a governmental office," the senior Gales recalled. "Cockburn, however repeatedly said it was because the Editors took so decided a part in favor of America against Great Britain."[16]

The National Intelligencer not only represented the administration's viewpoint but disseminated that view to other Republican newspapers, which often reprinted Intelligencer accounts. The newspaper's Washington news was exhaustive; Gales and Seaton both knew shorthand and covered the Congressional debates at length. Newspapers across the country praised the newspaper, as did the Baltimore Federal Republican in

---

[14] NationalIntelligencer, 20 January 1814.

[15] Ibid.,1 December 1814.

[16] Gales'Recollections, pp. 20-21, Winifred and Joseph Gales' Recollections, Gales Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C.

1821, for "the personal exertions of the editors" in covering Congress.[17]

If Gales and Seaton were honored for their reporting skills, they were sometimes derided as administration mouthpieces, particularly by opposition newspapers. The Cincinnati Literary Cadet nicknamed the Intelligencer the "court paper." The National Advocate of New York said that Gales and Seaton took their cue "from somebody or other in Washington," which prompted the two editors to defend their independence. "We stretch our views abroad over the nation, speak truly what we think its interest dictates, support the measures which appear to us to contribute to it, and oppose those which appear to be opposed to it."[18]

The Intelligencer had common cause with the many other Republican prints. A close ally among the Republican editors was Joseph Gales, Sr., of the Raleigh Register. Gales, Sr., had urged in 1808 that "every man who values his freedom and independence" should vote for Madison. Otherwise, the Republican administration would be overturned and the country would return to pre-1800 conditions such as excise and stamp taxes.[19]On the eve of

---

[17] Baltimore Federal Republican, quoted in the National Intelligencer, 21 November 1821.

[18] Cincinnati Literary Cadet, 8 November 1820; National Intelligencer, 17 August 1822.

[19] Raleigh Register, 27 October 1808. For history of the Register, see Robert Neal Elliott, The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

Madison's inauguration, the Register opined that the newspaper was "disposed to look up to him for everything great and good."[20]

Gales, Sr., had been known to flaunt his politics even in the obituary column, in which he would sometimes comment in passing on the deceased's political affiliation. The departed, it would be noted, was "a firm and fixed Republican."[21]

The elder Gales endorsed the president's war message in the War of 1812 and offered prayers for a "vigorous prosecution and successful termination."[22]During the war, Gales said often that the Federalists' antiwar attitude amounted to treason, and he characterized Harrison Gray Otis, leader of the Federalists, as a traitor and submissionist.[23]

Madison, the Federalist Press, and the War of 1812

While the National Intelligencer and other Republican papers could be counted on to defend the administration, the Federalist press could be counted on to attack it. Before and during the War of 1812, Federalist attacks on Madison were vehement and relentless.

A leading Federalist paper was the Columbian Centinel, described by Joseph T. Buckingham, editor of the Boston Courier, as "an indispensable source of news for the country printers."

---

[20] RaleighRegister, 2 March 1809.

[21] Ibid.,7 January, 14 January 1800.

[22] Ibid.,26 June 1812.

[23] Ibid.,10 July 1812; 29 January, 16 April, 11 June 1813.

The Centinel was "every where known and every where read," according to Buckingham.[24] Centinel editor Benjamin Russell, like other Northeastern Federalist editors, abhorred the War of 1812. He announced the beginning of the war in critical terms: "The awful event so often anticipated by us as the inevitable effect of the infatuated policy of the Rulers of the American People has now been realized, -- and the worst of measures has emerged from its secret womb in the worst of forms." Russell criticized the administration throughout the conflict, which he called "an unnecessary and unjust war."[25]

At one point, the Centinel even went so far as to support withdrawal from the union, claiming that little was left of the country anyway after a series of defeats at the hands of the British.[26]

After the Baltimore Federal Republican greeted the beginning of the war with the opinion that Madison was a pawn of Napoleon, enraged citizens smashed the printing office and tore down the building. The National Intelligencer seemed satisfied at the attack on its rival, announcing that citizens had been "very peaceably engaged for two or three hours in demolishing the office."[27]

---

[24] JosephT. Buckingham, Specimens of Newspaper Literature, With Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences, 2 vols. (Boston: Redding and Co., 1882), 2:77.

[25] Quotedin ibid., 2: 92-94.

[26] ColumbianCentinel, 10 September 1814.

[27] NationalIntelligencer, 25 June 1812.

The Federal Republican moved its presses to Georgetown but kept up the attacks on Madison, describing him as Napoleon's "humble imitator and submissive satellite." The newspaper believed that the administration's talk of peace was trickery resulting from "Mr. Madison's character for cunning and his habitual deceit and hypocrisy."[28]

The Federal Republican excoriated Madison for announcing that sealed mail to England or to British commanders would be examined before delivery. "By a most profligate and daring set of usurpations and tyranny, James Madison, after the manner of his master, Napoleon of France, has lately laid violent hands on the public mail, and broke open indiscriminately the letters of citizens and foreigners." Madison would soon open domestic mail as well, the newspaper predicted.[29]

The Federalist prints even doubted the sanity of the president and spoke wistfully of his possible death. When Madison fell ill in late summer 1813, the Federal Republican was almost gleeful. The newspaper said that the president appeared to have only a few days to live and added that "not a few, who have recently visited him, have left his chamber under a full conviction of the derangement of his mind."[30]After Vice President Elbridge Gerry died on November 23, 1814, the Federalist Winchester Gazette said that Madison's party associates "wish he was quietly asleep with the late vice president."[31]

---

[28] FederalRepublican, 10, 12, 15 March 1813.

[29] Ibid.,5 April 1813.

[30] Ibid.,13 August 1813.

When Cockburn burned Washington in 1814, he repeated the "coarse jests and vulgar slang of the Federal Republican respecting the chief magistrate," the National Intelligencer reported.[32]

Another persistent critic of Madison was the New York Evening Post. William Coleman, editor of the journal, harshly criticized the president's management of the war. "If there be judgment in this people, they will see the utter unfitness of our rulers for anything beyond management, intrigue, and electioneering," Coleman wrote. After American troops surrendered to the British at Detroit, Coleman was incensed. "Miserably deficient in practical talent must be the administration which formed the plan of that invasion," Coleman declared.[33]

When Madison proposed raising revenue with internal taxes, the Evening Post was aghast. "'Is this a dagger I see before me?' The petrified and amazed Macbeth felt hardly less horror at the appearance of the bloody dagger staring him in the face, than must the good people of these United States at beholding a democratic President recommending internal taxes." The Post noted that Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin was out of the country when questions were raised about the taxes. "Fled from his station, like a coward, as he is, fled to hide himself from the evil in a distant land."[34]In fact, Gallatin was on a peace mission.

---

[31] Quotedin ibid., 9 December 1814.

[32] NationalIntelligencer, 30, 31 August 1814.

[33] Quoted in Allan Nevins, The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism (New York: Boni and Liverwright, 1922), 55-56.

The Federalist prints continued to pester Madison even until the end of the war. When a delay in mails kept Washington wondering about the outcome of the Battle of New Orleans, the Federal Republican feared the worst. Recent reports held that General Andrew Jackson was in bad health and short of ammunition, and the newspaper accused Madison of withholding information about the battle. "The only measure for the preservation of the country which is likely to produce any lasting beneficial results, would be the impeachment and punishment of James Madison. While this man, if he deserves the name, is at the head of affairs . . . There can be nothing but dishonor, disappointment and disaster." Madison's heart is "petrified and hard as marble," the newspaper continued. "His body is torpid, and he is without feeling."[35]

Even after Jackson's surprise victory at New Orleans, the Federalist newspapers refused to credit Madison. Coleman wrote that Madison was not "entitled to the least share of the honor attending this brilliant affair, or to partake in the smallest of the glory acquired." The government had not obtained "one single avowed object, for which they involved the country in this bloody and expensive war," the newspaper further declared. "Yet LET THE NATION REJOICE, WE HAVE ESCAPED RUIN."[36]

---

[34] EveningPost, 29 May 1813.

[35] FederalRepublican, 12, 14 January 1815.

The Postwar Decline of Federalism and Monroe's "Era of Good Feelings"

The war, by settling the international tension between Britain and France that had contributed so greatly to the pre-war rivalry between the Federalists and the Republicans, contributed to an increased nationalism that helped the country overcome the extreme political differences before and during the war.[37] Moreover, the Federalists were so discredited by their wartime opposition that they began to fade into the political background. The Federalists' last presidential candidate was Rufus King, who ran against Monroe in 1816. Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton declared in his autobiography that the war resulted in "the elevation of the national character throughout the world."[38] Buckingham said that after Monroe's election, the Federalists "became virtually dissolved."[39]

Federalists lost power both because they had opposed the war and because the Democratic-Republicans had appropriated much of their program. After the war, Madison supported harbor defense measures, internal taxation, a protective tariff, higher salaries for public officials, even a new national bank, all tenets of Federalist doctrines that his party had previously opposed. As the Federalist Boston Palladium noted about Madison's supporters in late 1815, "They are now, good souls, heartily in love with a national bank. A lover never sighed half so much for his absent fair-one, as they have within the year for the establishment for a national bank."[40]

---

[36] EveningPost, 7, 13 February 1815.

[37] Forbackground on what Charles M. Wiltse termed the "heady nationalism" of the postwar years, see Wiltse's The New Nation, 1800-1845 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), 52-77.

[38] ThomasHart Benton, Thirty Years' View (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1854), 1:6. A good account of the decline of the Federalists is Shaw Livermore, Jr., The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[39] Buckingham,Specimens, 2:100.

Federalists were pleased at this reversal but resentful that their opponents had stolen their program. Coleman of the New York Evening Post was glad at least that the Republicans were "compelled to confess" their errors by making "such an exchange of Jeffersonian policy for federalism."[41]The Federal Republican also was pleased that the Democratic-Republicans had seen the error of their ways. Democracy herself, the newspaper said, had written "with her own hand the world FALSEHOOD on all the charges which she has brought against the federal party."[42]

The Western Monitor of Lexington, Kentucky, complained that the Democratic-Republicans "are now in one breath recommending the measures they formerly abused, and in the next, vilifying the men who taught them these measures. They do not even acknowledge that they have changed their ground."[43] With the Federalists on the defensive, Madison stepped up the removal of his enemies from federal office, a tactic the Evening Post said the president had learned from Jefferson. The newspaper nicknamed the many Federalists who switched parties "Coodies."[44]

---

[40] BostonPalladium, 10 November 1815.

[41] EveningPost, 23 February 1815.

[42] FederalRepublican, 3 January 1817.

The Federalists continued their decline after the election of Monroe, who wrote in 1816 that he believed "the existence of parties is not necessary to free government." The president-elect said he planned to exude goodwill to the Federalists but not to appoint them to federal office.[45] "Our free government, founded on the interest and affectations of the people, has gained, and is daily gaining strength," Monroe said in his first message to Congress in 1817. "Local jealousies are rapidly yielding to more generous, enlarged, and enlightened views of national policy."[46]

In 1817, Monroe undertook a national tour, ostensibly to inspect federal military installations but clearly reminiscent of Washington's national goodwill tour two decades earlier.[47] The response was overwhelming; the same Federalist newspapers that had excoriated Madison now lavished praise on his successor. In fact, it was a leading Federalist editor, Russell, who coined the term the "Era of Good Feelings" to describe the rejuvenated nationalism ushered in my Monroe.[48]

---

[43] Quotedin the Boston Palladium, 10 May 1816.

[44] EveningPost, 12 April, 20 August 1816.

[45] Monroeto Andrew Jackson, 14 December 1816, Writings of James Monroe, S.M. Hamilton, ed. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898-1903), 5:342-348. Hereafter cited as Monroe writings.

[46] Quoted in S. Putnam Waldo, The tour of James Monroe, president of the United States, through the northern and eastern states, in 1817 (Hartford, Conn.: F.D. Bolles, 1818), 273.

[47] For background on Monroe's tour, see Harry Ammon, "James Monroe and the Era of Good Feelings," Virginia Magazine 66 (1958): 390-391.

Some Republican prints ridiculed the Federalists for their about-face. Russell dismissed one critic, whom he called a "sour-cider carper," out of hand. "If it has had no other effect than the mere elicitation of these scintillations, it were worth all the pains and expense; as it proves the existence of a raw material where no one ever dreamed of looking for it."[49]

Other Federalists in New England were overjoyed. The Boston Palladium said that previous political enemies had now "shaken hands and become reconciled, and have tacitly agreed to bury all past misunderstanding in oblivion." The Connecticut Mirror said that if Monroe had associated only with New England Democratic-Republicans, "What a pitiful opinion would he form of the character and people of New England."[50]

The National Intelligencer, for its part, welcomed the turnabout among Federalists, particularly in Massachusetts, the hotbed of rebellion during the war. "If, in the present instance, the opposition have become politically virtuous from necessity, this display of virtue will be productive of great good," the newspaper wrote after Monroe's visit to Boston. "It will evince to our southern and western brethren, that republicanism is not extinct in Massachusetts."[51]

---

[48] ColumbianCentinel, 12 July 1817; One historian who has done extensive research in this era notes that he has run across no other use of the phrase before Russell used it in the Centinel. See James Schouler, History of the United States, 7 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1894-1913), 12.

[49] Quotedin Buckingham, Specimens, 2: 97.

[50] BostonPalladium, 15 July 1817; Connecticut Mirror, 18 August 1817.

The Federalist prints continued to be kind to Monroe after the goodwill tour. At the beginning of the 1818 session of Congress, Russell praised Monroe's address as containing "much interesting and satisfactory intelligence." Of the address, he said "its frankness and total exemption from that diplomatic jargon, which so often mystified other Presidential State Papers, are not among the least of its merits."[52]Buckingham said he did not recall Russell ever passing "a word of censure" upon any acts of the Monroe or John Quincy Adams administrations, "and some of them [were] made the subjects of inflated encomium."[53]

By 1819, even the Federal Republican, which six years before had questioned Madison's sanity, now reveled in the prosperity of his successor's administration. "The nearer the Democratic administration and party come up to the old federal principles and measures, the better they act and the more we prosper -- that is the reason that every body is contented with President

---

[51] NationalIntelligencer, 28 July 1817.

[52] Quotedin Buckingham, Specimens, 2:97-98.

[53] Ibid.

Monroe's administration, which is in system and effect strictly federal."[54]

Clearly, party feeling had abated in the early Monroe years, and the party press had lost much of its nasty edge, particularly when compared to the scornful attacks party papers had traded during the War of 1812. But newspapers that had previously fought for parties now realigned behind sectional issues or one of the many candidates to succeed Monroe. A good record of this political jockeying was left by John Quincy Adams, a member of Monroe's cabinet who ultimately won the presidency in 1824.

Adams wrote in 1818, just two years in Monroe's first term, that "[t]here is in the country as great mass of desire to be in opposition to the administration." Adams said the country seemed to believe that Monroe's administration would end "by bringing in an adverse party to it." This possibility "engages all the newspapers not employed by public patronage, but desiring it, and many of those possessing it, against the administration." Adams said newspapers were more even likely to blame the administration as a way of showing their independence and escaping the charge of being subservient to the government.[55]

Adams also wrote that he believed that the administration was on the defensive, with its success depending upon the outcome of issues with Spain and Great Britain. Virginia was "already lukewarm" to the president, Adams believed. "The Richmond

---

[54] FederalRepublican, 25 June 1819.

[55] 28July 1818, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 4:119.

Enquirer, which is the voice of Virginia, speaks to him like a master to his slave."[56]

Adams' diary also reveals that Monroe did not always get along with editors, "Era of Good Feelings" notwithstanding. The president was displeased with Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond Enquirer. According to Adams, Monroe called Ritchie "a vain and presumptuous man, affecting to have great influence, and inconsiderately committing himself upon important political subjects without waiting to understand them thoroughly, and thus getting into perplexities without knowing afterwards how to get out of them."[57]Monroe also disliked William Duane of the Philadelphia Aurora, according to Adams, and called him "as unprincipled a fellow as lived."[58]

Monroe also occasionally grew displeased even with editors of the National Intelligencer, according to Adams. When the newspaper published an incorrect article about a cabinet position, Monroe "concluded to send for Gales . . . and have an explanation with him."[59]

By 1824, newspapers were increasingly contentious as jockeying began to succeed Monroe. The candidates included Adams, General Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay. Adams noted in September 1822 that the National Intelligencer was already leaning toward William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, probably because the editors believed Crawford would be successful and they wanted to keep their government printing contracts. Adams believed that newspapers used "principles alike selfish and sordid" in determining whom to support for the presidency. He noted that the Richmond Enquirer supported Crawford "because he is a Virginian and a slaveholder" and assumed that the Democratic Press of Philadelphia had fallen behind Crawford "because I transferred the printing of the laws from that paper to the Franklin [Pennsylvania] Gazette."[60]

---

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.,23 January 1819, 4:227.

[58] Ibid.,18 January 1820, 4:507-509.

[59] Ibid.,2 December 1818, 4:185.

"The newspaper war between the presses of Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun waxes warm," Adams wrote the next week, noting that the newspapers in Boston and Washington were trading barbs over the candidates. "If the press is not soon put down, Mr. Crawford has an ordeal to pass through before he reaches the Presidency which will test his merit and pretensions as well as the character of the nation."[61]As the newspaper war intensified the next year, Adams hoped that newspaper readers could see past the partisan motives of editors, "the newspaper scavengers and scape-gibbets, whose republicanism runs in filthy streams from the press."[62]

---

[60] Ibid.,9 September 1822, 6:60-61.

[61] Ibid.,14 September 1822, 6:63-4.

[62] Ibid.,9 August 1823, 6:170. For more background on newspaper electioneering during the 1824 campaign, see Ammon, Fifth President, 28, and Ames, A History of the National Intelligencer, 127-148.

Conclusion

The press in the Madison and Monroe administrations represented both continuity and subtle change between the early and late periods of the party press era. The continuity was evident in the basic structure of the party press, which, not surprisingly, remained unchanged. Federal government patronage for the press continued to be doled out through this period by the secretary of state, who had authority to contract with newspapers in every state for the publishing of the laws.[63] Newspapers continued to serve as spokesmen for politicians, but the nature of the disputes between newspapers changed, as party lines blurred with the disintegration of the Federalist party on the national scene after the War of 1812 and the election of Monroe. The political sparring that led up to the much-disputed presidential election of 1824 saw a return of newspaper bickering, now tied to specific candidates rather than parties.[64] With the realignment of political parties into Whigs and Democratic-Republicans in the age of Jackson in the late party press period, newspapers were once again divided upon party lines. The party press had now come full circle.

Hezekiah Niles' comment in his Niles Weekly Register about the press in 1825 shows just how little the press had changed from the first party press period to the middle period. Niles said "that nearly every publisher is compelled to take a side in personal electioneering."[65]

---

[63] Thehistory of government patronage of newspapers has been thoroughly documented in Culver H. Smith, The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789-1875 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1977).

[64] Fordetails on the 1824 presidential election, see Baldasty, "The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson."

---

[65] NilesWeekly Register, 19 February 1825.

WHO'S THE BOSS?:
THE INFLUENCE OF BLACK WOMEN JOURNALISTS OF *RINGWOOD'S JOURNAL*

by

DR. BERNELL E. TRIPP

COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3055 WEIMER HALL
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32611

Submitted to the American Journalism Historians Association
national convention, Oct. 6-8, 1994,
Roanoke, VA.

Who's the Boss?: The Influence of Black Women Journalists of *Ringwood's Journal*

The end of the Civil War brought numerous changes to the lifestyles of nineteenth-century blacks in the United States. It offered hopes for a future of equality and prosperity, ideals rarely achieved before the war. It also provided blacks with the opportunity to determine their own destiny and to attempt to correct the perceived wrongs in their communities. However, when these new opportunities failed to materialize, blacks were again faced with the necessity of finding a way to express their needs, as well as their outrage over unfair treatment, but **this** time, a previously less vocal group decided to add their own organized voices to the protests--women journalists.

Prior to the war, a few individual voices, such as *Provincial Freeman* publisher Mary Ann Shadd Cary and *Liberator* contributor Sarah Mapps Douglass, had defied societal restrictions on women's public conduct to stress their disapproval, as well as offer their inspiration to Northern black readers. But the women's suffrage movement and the women's club movement of the late nineteenth century provided an ideal opportunity for women to band together into a cohesive unit to address their own needs and concerns. Into this arena emerged *Ringwood's Journal*, a journal devoted specifically to the welfare of black women and the development of young black girls who had seldom been acknowledged in either the black press or the mainstream press. Victoria Earle Matthews, a writer for *Ringwood's* and later for another black woman's journal that would focus on similar issues, the *Woman's Era*, was intrigued by the idea of a press dedicated to women's issues. She later wrote in the inaugural issue of the *Era*:

> My experience in the past has taught me that women can stand together, when drawn together by something pure and noble, and I know that the one demand of the women of my section journalistically, is a matter that shall appeal to the noblest sentiments and the most exalted ideals.[1]

Never before in the history of the race had black women played such a large part in the advancement of blacks than they did after the Civil War. While they had eagerly participated in the abolitionist movement before the war, when society and their husbands allowed it, their primary duties had been confined to the home, supplying cohesiveness to the family structure. However, these wives, sisters, and daughters of some of the better educated members of black society began to move to the forefront of the societal struggles in order to "glorify [their] womanhood by idealizing the various phases of [their] character, by digging from the past examples of faithfulness and sympathy, endurance and self-sacrifice and displaying the achievements which were brightened by friction."[2]

Following the Union victory, the atmosphere had changed for blacks to one of anticipation rather than hopelessness. Blacks, including those who were experiencing freedom for the first time, were promised full citizenship, as well as various civil rights that their new status deserved. The Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, along with other congressional actions, attempted to grant blacks more rights than they had ever received before in this nation.

Despite these promises of improved status in American society, blacks soon began to realize that these new opportunities were still being denied to them by members of the white society. Blacks further discovered that they would need to turn to their own magazines and newspapers in order to express their discontent, since access to the white-dominated press was almost nonexistent.

The black press had continued to serve as the primary outlet for black expression. Most contributors prior to the Civil War had been clergymen and businessmen -- primarily men who had received some type of formal education. However, after the Civil War, not only did the role of the black press change, but so did the reporters and editors who sustained it. The black press was thrust into the position of trying to hold onto those advantages already achieved by blacks, while pushing for changes and an end to white racism. Women assumed a more important role in improving the lifestyle of

American blacks, while adding their own voices to the struggle.

These women determined that their role in society was not limited to that of teacher or caregiver, but also encompassed such concerns as children's education, job training, voting rights, and religious teachings. They also realized that they were leaders, as well as followers, and like black males, they began to understand the significance of being allowed to speak for themselves. They turned to writing and to lecturing in order to be heard for the first time.

Women previously confined to conducting "womanly tasks" such as household maintenance and child-raising joined in the quest to publicize indiscretions against the black race. In many instances their outlet for expression was a journal or newspaper created **by** women to address the needs **of** women. Such was the case for *Ringwood's Journal*.

As a young girl growing up in Warrenton, Virginia, during Reconstruction, Julia Ringwood Coston was well aware of the ostracism she and other young blacks must have felt when they failed to see blacks depicted in white-owned newspapers and journals or their interests addressed. Therefore, in *Ringwood's* initial issues, Coston, then the wife of the Rev. W.H. Coston and a mother of two, pleaded her case before her prospective audience of black women. The editorial read, in part:

> *Ringwood's Journal of Fashion*, published by Mrs. J.R. Coston, makes its advent to satisfy the common

> desire among us for an illustrated journal of our own ladies. The injury of the absence of the cultivating influence which attaches to a purely published, illustrated journal devoted to the loving interests of our homes, and to the weal of our daughters, was felt by me when a girl, and is recognized by me now when a woman. Knowing that this injury of absence could only be overcome by the *presence* of such a journal, without measuring the intellectual ability required, we have published *Ringwood's Journal*.[3]

Coston stipulated that her journal would be "devoted to the domestic, moral, social, educational and artistic interest of our women and our girls."[4] She encouraged "a number of responsible, energetic young women and men" throughout the country to become agents for the journal.[5] The articles, poetry, stories, and letters submitted by the many women invited to contribute to the journal provide some insight into the philosophies that influenced their choice of topics. Their written works reflected the major concerns of the period and the priorities that motivated their actions and occupied their thoughts.

While no extant copies of Ringwood's are known to be available, much of the writings were reproduced in other newspapers, magazines, and journals of the period. This also lends credence to the idea that the contributions of the women writers were considered significant enough to warrant being "lifted" and displayed in publications throughout the country for others to read.

The journal was described by the *Florida Sentinel* as "a combination of literary taste and modern fashion, and pre-eminently accepted in the families and homes of the most cultured and refined of Americans."[6] The Sentinel also declared that the "admirably arranged illustrations and fashion department" showed "very conclusively that Afro-American journalism is advancing."[7]

In its offices at 86 Harmon Street in Cleveland, Ohio, Ringwood's employed many black women who were already well-known, or soon would be, among the pages of black journals through the turn of the century. Many would go on to work for the *Woman's Era*. One listing of *Ringwood's* contributors included: Mrs. Bishop B.F. Lee, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Sarah Mitchell, Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Lillian Lewis, Boston, Mass.,; Mrs. S.I. Shorter, Wilberforce, Ohio; Mrs. J. Silone-Yates, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. E.C. Nesbit, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. M.C. Terrell, Washington, D.C.; "Victoria Earle," New York; and Mrs. Gertrude Mossell, Lockport, New York.[8] With this collection of writers, Coston hoped to address a variety of topics ranging from art to cooking to intimate "girl talk." A March 1892 issue of the *Richmond Planet* provided a more detailed list of the staff members, as well as the journal's intentions. It stated:

> *Ringwood's Afro-American Journal of Fashion*, edited by Mrs. Julia Ringwood Coston, Cleveland, O., the only illustrated journal of colored ladies in the world. Besides the latest Parisian fashions of ladies' gowns, etc., it contains biographical sketches of prominent ladies of the race and of promising young misses, edited by the Mrs. M.C. Church Terrel, Washington, D.C., with the following departments: 'Plain Talk to Our Girls,' edited by Mrs. Prof. J.P. Shorter, Wilberforce University; 'Art Department,' edited by Miss Adina White, Cincinnati, O.; 'Mother's Corner,' edited by Mrs. E.C. Nesbit, Cincinnati, O.; 'Literary Department,'

> by Mrs. M.E. Lambert, Detroit, Mich.; 'Home Department,' by Miss S. Mitchell, Cleveland, O.[9]

This listing indicates that Coston recognized the need for young black women to be well-rounded in many areas in order to succeed in their communities and in U.S. society. Deemed the first of its kind to appear on the market, *Ringwood's* reflected its publisher's philosophy that black women needed to reach out to the public to make them aware of the suffering, as well as the dreams of the race. She wrote:

> The vibrations of our silent suffering are not ineffective. They touch and communicate. They awaken interest and kindle sympathies which arouse public consciousness and bid it to pity and revolt against the injustice of the oppression. They touch the keyboard of our human mind and convey through the nerve keys the sympathies of the intelligent, humane and Christian public a knowledge of our grievances in all parts of this broad land, which will at some time, we believe, not distant, secure to our children the protection of the Church and State.[10]

Coston felt that, for too long, black women had remained silent and endured the heartache when they should have been vocal--at least for the sake of the children. She viewed the journalistic "keyboard" as the voice of all the oppressed of the period, maintaining the power to alter many of societies injustices. She explained:

> The cruelty of the treatment of African women in the South touched this keyboard in eighteen hundred and fifty-six. Our mothers had suffered long in hopeless endurance. But at last the keys moved and a Lincolnic voice spoke and they received the protection of the State. Through this board Lincoln spoke to the Church and State. by the editorials upon our barbarous treatment in the South and injustice of our treatment in the North we acknowledge an earnest desire for a human South and Christian North. It will increase in potency, and

> secure for Afro-American women and children all the blessings of this great country.[11]

As with black male leaders of the time, Coston viewed black women and children as the hope of the future, and in order for them to prosper, they would need good role models on which to base their personal development. What better role models than the women who wrote for her journal. One such item focused on Mrs. Susie Isabella Lankford Shorter, editor of the "Plain Talk to our Girls" department. Shorter, the daughter of a pastor for the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Baltimore, had become a teacher in her mid-teens and later a professor at Wilberforce University in Ohio. The Ringwood's article provided the tale of Shorter's meeting with the minister that would later introduce her to her future husband. The minister, a professor of theology, recounted how he had appeared unannounced at Shorter's father's home, hungry and tired. The article detailed how Shorter had made him some biscuits, which he later pronounced 'excellent' (after eating 11 of them) and "recommended at once [to his bachelor colleague, Shorter's future husband] the little girl who could make such good biscuit as a suitable companion for a wife."[12] A subsequent letter to the editor praised Shorter for her work in the department and for maintaining her femininity. Mamie E. Fox wrote that "Mrs. Shorter's 'Talk with Girls' are very practical and highly useful; she is a true woman in the highest sense of the word."[13]

Although it would seem that baking good biscuits would be a trivial prerequisite for acquiring a husband in the twentieth century, it, along with other skills associated with performing "womanly tasks", was a prized accomplishment for Coston's readers. According to Coston, nothing caused more harm to the cause of black women than a woman who sacrifices her femininity and womanhood. Coston cautioned that the "harm her example may do to the young and ignorant aspirants for literary honors is only paralleled by the cause she has given mankind to hold her womanhood in light esteem."[14]

Among those traits of true womanhood were the duties and responsibilities of being a good mother. Mothers were not only role models, but also instructors who were designated with the responsibility of teaching their children manners, as well as values. Mrs. Lucie Johnson Scruggs, a former slave who had received no formal education until she reached the age of 9, provided Ringwood's with an item detailing what happens when mothers neglect their duties. She wrote:

> ...[S]o many of our mothers regard that position in life as a mere trifle, as irksome, never giving on thought to the many duties resting upon them as the laying of the true foundations upon which their little innocent ones are to build....Oh, mother! remember that upon you depends the future of your children; upon you in after years will they shower blessings which will be a comfort to you in your old age if you have tried in every respect to carry into effect the meaning of the word mother.[15]

Scruggs also stressed the importance of the mothers as role models for their children, asking "[h]ow can you expect your child to be sweet and loving if you yourself are not the embodiment of those true and noble principles?"[16] However, the most poignant plea was reserved for those mothers who dread "rearing" their daughters, and instead focus their attentions on their sons. She warned:

> Some mothers sigh over the great responsibility, as they term it, of rearing girls, while the rearing of their boys is a pleasure, but if they were to look on the other side of the picture would they not see that if the proper care and pains were used to keep the boys' minds pure and innocent as is taken for the girls, how much less would be the shedding of tears over fallen girls?
>
> Look at the temptations your boys are throwing in the paths of your neighbor's girls, or the temptations your neighbor's boys are throwing in the pathway of your own girls. Is this not sufficient proof that the reins should be drawn with equal force on the boys a well as on the girls?[17]

Scruggs' sudden death soon after writing this article provided additional opportunities for Ringwood's and other black journals to stress the importance of values and role models for young blacks. One obituary appearing in the New York Age and reprinted in Ringwood's emphasized Scruggs' achievements as a wife, mother, and community leader. It proclaimed her "a devoted wife, a loving companion and a most efficient manager of his [her husband's] business affairs," as well as a "tender and fond mother to her children." It also pointed out that at the time of her death Scruggs "had planned to organize a Sewing Circle for the purpose of teaching the industry to such girls as were ignorant of it."[18] Another obituary, taken from the Raleigh, N.C., Gazette, praised Scruggs for her contributions to developing strong morals and principles among blacks. It stated:

> For many years Mrs. Scruggs worked incessantly to create a high moral sphere among the people and occupied for a long time the chief place in many social and literary societies of the city, and not an effort was made without receiving her support for the amelioration of the poor.
> As a wife she was true, as a mother loving, and as a neighbor kind. As a housekeeper she was a model, as to her business qualities, the stricken husband owes much of his success, and to repeat his own words, 'Her place can never be supplied.'[19]

Scruggs was only one of many who used *Ringwood's* to promote self-esteem, virtue, and industriousness. These women inspired their readers, as well as impressed them with their abilities and commitment to racial progress. Victoria Earle Matthews, reporter for such newspapers as the *National Leader*, the *New York Age*, the New York *Globe*, and *Southern Christian Recorder*, advocated education not only as a means of economic advancement, but also to aid in establishing racial unity. According to her assistant, Frances Keyser, Matthews, a teacher and a writer, sought "to impart to a group of intelligent young men and women the knowledge of the work and worth of the men and women of their race--a knowledge with which she was completely saturated. Thus she hoped to inspire in them confidence in their group and in themselves--confidence and a hope that she believed would incite them to noble thoughts and great ideas and deeds."[20] In addition to writing, Matthews organized cooking classes, training in domestic work, and sewing classes to be taught to young black girls in New York. She also established a small mission to provide a basic education for boys and girls from three to fifteen years of age and to help them learn "important lessons in decency, order, thrift and love for each other."[21]

Mrs. N. F. Mossell, editor of the woman's department of T. Thomas Fortune's *The Freeman* and an occasional contributor to *Ringwood's*, supported this attitude toward the responsibilities inherent in "true womanhood." Wives and mothers were expected to show fierce tenacity in guiding their husbands and children into a meaningful and successful existence. Mossell maintained that the work of black women was equal to, if not greater than, the importance of the work of black men because "[u]pon them more than upon any other influence depends the development of a race of men in every respect different from those of us now upon the stage of activity."[22] According to Mossell, this particular task also included developing "a manhood wherein shrewdness, courage, fidelity to race, commercial enterprise, and high moral and religious convictions are prevailing and predominant elements. If we are to have such men, our women are to give them to us. . . ."[23]

Mossell, Matthews, Shorter, Scruggs, Coston, and numerous others appealed to both the men and women of their race, and *Ringwood's* was well-received by its audience. Other journals praised the women's accomplishments and encouraged them to continue in their endeavors. The Philadelphia *Recorder* lauded the journal's departments aimed at boys and girls and congratulated the women on their editing skills. The Philadelphia *Times* and the Cleveland *World* offered similar accolades. The *Times* pointed out the "pleasing fashion articles, instructive talks with girls and mothers, and witty all-around paragraphs and interesting love stories," while the *World* added that such a "handsome appearing work reflects credit upon the publisher, Mrs. W.H. Coston."[24]

Information is sketchy as to how long *Ringwood's* operated. While considering the proliferation of black journals during the 1890s, including *Woman's Era*, which appeared in 1894 and employed many of the same writers, the indication is that it probably lasted only a few years. However, its significance lies not in the length of its operation, but in the fact that it implemented something that black women had longed for during their years of grief and oppression--an outlet to which they could turn to express their joys, as well as their frustrations.

The end of the war brought with it the emancipation of slaves and also that of black women. Black women had always been important carriers of the culture with their songs, folk wisdom, and religious teachings. When blacks began to face a new struggle--one not for freedom, but for the right to establish a place for himself in American society--black women began to move into the forefront of the fight, alongside the black male. As the focal point of the family, black women had always been forced to improvise inventive solutions for family dilemmas. After the war, these problems multiplied and enlarged to include the entire race, and black women felt a responsibility to discover the solutions. They became less involved with their own personal growth and more concerned with the elevation of the race. As a result, they spoke out for the first time--from the lecture platforms and from the pages of books, magazines, and newspapers. Their introduction into the newsroom brought with it a view of black life from a different perspective and hinted at the next phase of development the black press would undergo after the turn of the century.

Endnotes

[1] *Woman's Era*, 1 November 1894.

[2] Lucy Wilmot Smith, *The (Indianapolis) Freeman*, February 23, 1889.

[3] Reprinted in L.A. Scruggs, *Women of Distinction: Remarkable in Works and Invincible in Character* (Raleigh, N.C.: By the author, 1893), 142.

[4] Advertisement appearing in the back of I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press, and its Editors* (Springfield, Mass.: Willey and Co., 1891), no page number.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Reprinted in Scruggs, 257.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Penn, back cover.

[9] *Richmond Planet*, 1 March 1892.

[10] Coston essay in Monroe A. Majors, *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities* (Chicago: n.p., 1893), 252-253.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *Ringwood's*, March 1892. Reprinted in Scruggs, 163.

[13] *Ringwood's*, June 1892.

[14] Coston essay in Majors, 254-255.

[15] *Ringwood's Journal*, October 1892. She was married to L.A. Scruggs. Reprinted in her husband's book, Scruggs, 336-337.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] *New York Age*, 28 November 1892; *Ringwood's*, December 1892.

[19] Scruggs, 335.

[20] Frances R. Keyser, "Victoria Earle Matthews, 1861-1898," in *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*. Edited by Hallie Q. Brown (Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Publishing Company, 1926), pp. 215-216. Keyser served as assistant superintendent at Matthews' White Rose Home, established to provide young black girls with food, shelter, and work training.

[21] Ibid., 212.

[22] *The Freeman*, April 10, 1886. For this recurring theme, see also Mossell's book, *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* (Xenia, Ohio: n.p., 1894).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Opinions appeared in a collection in Majors, 256-257.

CS

The "Big Six" and Muckraking: Re-examining "Exposure Journalism"

By
Kathleen L. Endres
School of Communication
University of Akron
Akron Ohio 44325-1003

A paper prepared for submission
to the American Journalism Historians Association convention

The "Big Six" and Muckraking:
Re-examining "Exposure Journalism"

In the opening decade of the twentieth century, they were called the "Big Six,"[1] mass circulation magazines aimed at middle-class female audiences. These monthlies--Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal,[2] McCall's, Pictorial Review and The Delineator--were known for many things: huge profits generated by large advertising revenues and growing newsstand sales, rapidly increasing circulations that reached into the millions, and an editorial content that appealed to women in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, nurturers and homemakers.

Seldom, however, have they been known for muckraking.[3] Histories of muckraking have focused on a different set of monthlies: McClure's, Cosmopolitan, The Arena, Collier's, Everybody's, Hampton's and The American.[4] Those same accounts focus on the journalists who contributed to those magazines as the standard bearers of muckraking: Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffins, Ida Tarbell and David Graham Phillips.[5]

These histories largely ignored the "Big Six."[6] After all--on the surface--these publications, with their traditional editorial focus and their readerships, seemed unlikely forums for muckraking, the journalism of "exposure."[7]

However, in the early twentieth century, this traditional editorial focus and readership ensured muckraking--but a form of investigative journalism of a distinct character. These magazines tailored their muckraking journalism to the traditional roles and responsibilities of females as mothers and wives,, as nurturers and homemakers. Moreover, the writers and editors of these magazines argued that women--as mothers and wives, as nurturers and homemakers--had a duty to carry out their traditional roles and responsibilities into the "larger community."

As one writer in *Good Housekeeping* asserted, "In short, begin at home and consider the street, the neighborhood, the community--the larger home."[8] The editor of the *Pictorial Review* made a similar plea, women should be "entrusted with National Housekeeping and National Housecleaning."[9]

This oft-repeated link between home and the "larger household" meant that these magazines had a responsibility to carry on muckraking journalism to uncover the corruption in soceity. But the muckraking that these magazines offered dealt with corruption and abuse associated with women's traditional roles. Yet, at the same time, the stories (and editorials) offered solutions to the problems uncovered. This was a brand of muckraking journalism that was designed specifically to mobilize women to work for reform in the home and outside it, not just expose the ills in society.

The link between home and "larger household" along with the muckraking journalism of the women's magazines are vital to the understanding of the extensive involvement of middle-class females in the Progressive Movement.[10] Readers of these magazines were urged to organize and/or join clubs to reform society. As many historians have chronicled, women worked in most of the reform campaigns of the day.[11] However, they tended to congregate in certain key reforms that grew out of their traditional roles of wife and mother, nurturer and homemaker.[12] These included such national, state and local campaigns to abolish child labor,[13] to improve the quality and purity of foods,[14] to improve conditions in the schools,[15] and to label of ingredients in patent medicines.[16] These were also the very muckraking campaigns that five of the "Big Six" waged during the period 1902 to 1912, the decade commonly associated with the muckraking period.[17]

The "Big Six" represent~~ed~~s a convenient classification label for the competing women's magazines. However, it blurs the differing editorial contents and focuses of the six publications. McCall's, for example, was a fashion magazine, published by the McCall Co. of New York. Between 1902 and 1911, McCall's was edited by Miss E.B. Clapp and, from 1911 to 1912, by William Griffith. The Delineator and Pictorial Review shared McCall's fashion foundation. The Delineator was launched by the Butterick Co. in 1873, primarily as a vehicle to sell the company's line of clothing patterns. In large part due to the efforts of editor Charles Dwyer (1894-1907), the magazine broadened its editorial focus.[18] Dwyer presided over only a portion of the magazine's muckraking years; author Theodore Dreiser took over during much of the second half of the muckraking period (1907-1910). The waning years of the muckraking period were under the direction of managing editor George Barr Baker. The Pictorial Review shared a similar "fashion" editorial history. Launched to publicize the McDowell System of Dressmaking and Tailoring, a dress-pattern business owned by William Paul Ahnelt, a German immigrant. The magazine remained an uninspired fashion magazine until 1907 when new editor Arthur T. Vance brought a different editorial vision to the magazine. He redesigned the monthly, improved the quality and amount of the literary offerings, expanded the coverage in non-fashion areas and brought a reform commitment to the features and the editorial comment. That formula had worked well at the Woman's Home Companion, where Vance had been editor during the first five years of the twentieth century. The Companion, flagship of the Crowell Publishing Co., was a hugely successful woman's lifestyle magazine. The Companion, like its chief competitor the Ladies' Home Journal, offered a full range of household tips, crafts, child care features, art and fiction. Vance remained with the Companion until 1907 when he took over the Pictorial Review. Frederick Lewis Collins directed the Companion until 1911. There was much more editorial stability at the Ladies' Home Journal where Edward Bok remained editor for almost three decades. The Journal was published by Curtis Publishing in

Philadelphia. The smallest of the "Six" was Good Housekeeping, a magazine focusing on food preparation and home maintenance.[18] During much of the muckraking period,[19] Good Housekeeping was published by Phelps Publishing Co, New York, and edited by James Eaton Tower.

The "Big Six," then, shared little by way of an editorial focus with the "muckraking" monthlies of the traditional accounts. However, they did share other similarities. Both groups of magazines were aimed at middle-class audiences;[20] although the gender of the readership differed, the socio-economic class did not. Both types of magazines were monthlies that sold for a relatively low price.[21] Both sets of magazines had substantial circulations. In most instances, however, the circulations of the women's magazines exceeded the number of subscribers to the muckraking periodicals. In the early twentieth century, Good Housekeeping had the smallest circulation of the group with 200,000 in 1908; McCall's had one million subscribers the same year. Pictorial Review had fewer subscribers: in excess of 500,000 in 1910. The three largest of the group were the Companion, the Journal and the Delineator. Although circulation figures are suspect for this period, all three publications claimed they had circulations in excess of one million. In contrast, McClure's had a circulation of 750,000; Hampton's, 440,000; and Collier's, 500,000.[22]

This is where many of the similarities end. The muckraking of the women's magazines differed substantially in content, reporters and advocacy.

At the base of these differences lay a conservative view of women and their role in society. Each of these magazines and its editors were committed to women in their traditional sphere within the home. However, these editors contended that, instead of limiting women, traditional duties and responsibilities empowered them to reform society, the "larger household." As a writer for Good Housekeeping explained,

> Women must bestir themselves to purify the city in defense of the home. They must combine to make war upon dirt and disease in the street and in the slum in the same way as they now do in the kitchen and the parlor. The town is merely an extension of the home.[23]

Delineator editor Dreiser made much the same point--and more.

> In this year of 1909 of the twentieth century, nobody any longer pretends that a woman's sphere of activity is limited to the four walls of her home. It begins there, but it widens outward in circles of ever-increasing diameter.

Moreover, Dreiser argued that civic activism actually *improved* women's work within the home.[24]

Many of the editors of the women's magazines could not entrust such an essential campaign to simple journalists. The editors came to rely on the "experts" in each field being investigated. Thus, H.W. Wiley, of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture; E.H. Jenkins, vice director of the Connecticut State Agricultural Station in charge of food inspection, and Professor Samuel C. Prescott of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered exposes on food adulteration for Good Housekeeping. Mary Hinman Abel, an expert in domestic science, covered the same topic for the Delineator; Lewis Edwin Theiss, was the pure food expert for the Pictorial Review. The Woman's Home Companion called on a number of experts during the campaign to investigate and abolish child labor. These included Owen Lovejoy, field secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; John Spargo, author of The Bitter Cry of Children, and A.J. McKelway, assistant secretary of the Child Labor Committee. The magazine relied on experts, even though the Companion hired one of the leading investigative journalists on the subject, Rheta Childe Dorr.[25] One other journalist, Henry Harrison Lewis, was sent to Washington, D.C. to keep the magazine informed about what Congress was doing on child labor legislation nationally. Lewis may have started as a dispassionate journalist but soon took on the writing style and enthusiasm of a reform activist. Much the same could be said of Mark Sullivan, who contributed articles on patent medicines to the Ladies' Home Journal, and William Hard, who did an investigative series for the Delineator on the legal rights of women.[26]

The commitment to women changing and improving society characterized the muckraking journalism of these women's magazines. A dispassionate recitation of scandals might be appropriate for some periodicals but not for the women's monthlies. The editors of these magazines did not seem to be willing to settle for simply a journalism of "exposure." The editors expected more, both from writers and readers. In addition to muckraking, the writers for the women's magazines were expected to offer solutions to the ills they so poignantly enumerated. The solutions ranged from providing free kits to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure food act, to individual magazines organizing national reform leagues,[27] to drafting and/or publishing model legislation to correct some of the problems uncovered in the stories.[28] The solutions, however, are best seen within the context of the individual magazines and specific muckraking campaigns.[29]

As noted, the muckraking of women's magazines grew out of a conservative view of the traditional roles and responsibilities of females in society.[30] Editors and writers insisted that, at the very least, women had to correct the problems and eliminate the corruption within their own homes. To truly remedy the ills, however, they had to look outside the home--and weed out the roots of the abuses in the community. Women had to work with other women to achieve that end.

The campaign to end the adulteration of the nation's food supplies illustrated this philosophy. Food preparation was clearly under the purvey of woman as homemaker and as nurturer, as mother and as wife. Four magazines--Good Housekeeping, Woman's Home Companion, Delineator and Pictorial Review--recognized that link and, to various degrees, uncovered the abuses that threatened the health and well being of the family.

Good Housekeeping was the magazine that really made this campaign its own. It was the first to cover the issue and continued to cover it well past the traditional end of the muckraking era. Here was an issue that cut to Good Housekeeping's very existence.[31] Thus, it was natural that the magazine would declare "war" on adulterated foods.[32]

One of its first weapons in this "war" was the Good Housekeeping Institute,[33] a place to test foods and household products. As the magazine continued into a "positive" campaign[34] against adulterated foods, the Institute tested food products and issued a "Roll of Honor," a monthly list of brand name foods that had met the group's standard for purity. The magazine not only provided the monthly reports beginning in 1906 but offered annual summaries so readers could use the list as a guide to "safe" shopping.[35]

Those lists were especially helpful because the magazine often covered problems with the food supply: new preservatives that caused digestive problems, rotten food used in jellies, adulterated spices, and, perhaps most reprehensible, adulterated milk.

Stories were often graphic in detail. One, which was based on testimony before the Congressional Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported, "every decayed, rotten, unfit apple goes into the heap. Every worm-eaten spot of an apple--every worm itself, which is found in the apple--is carefully collected into the same heap" and ground up to make jelly.[36] Story after story outlined the problems with the milk supply of the nation. Women were reminded that "dirty cows mean...manure in the milk." Formaldehyde was used as a preservative in some milk. Although never designed as a food additive, it was used in milk to delay the spoiling process. "By this means [formaldehyde] even in the most sultry weather the milk and cream keep sweet even for several days." Yet this came at a price, the author warned, "digestive organs suffer in silence."[37]

Many scientists working for Good Housekeeping were not ~~usually~~ as sensationalistic and sometimes framed their comments in technical terms; however, their results--no matter what the vocabulary--were often alarming. E.H. Jenkins of the Connecticut State Agriculture Station, talked of formaline and borax being added to food, particularly those products that did not carry a brand name or a place of origin. A "Consulting Food Chemist" R.O. Brooks found problems with spices and flavoring extracts. Of the 62 brands tested, only 26 were pure. Some of the brands of vanilla extract had been adulterated with wood alcohol, even after the Hepburn Act went into effect.[38]

According to Good Housekeeping, readers had a role to play in correcting this problem. They could take one of two tacts: work to protect their own families through intelligent shopping and/or work to protect their families as well as the community (the "larger household") by correcting the ill.

The women interested only in protecting their own families looked to the magazine's "Roll of Honor" and its assurances that advertisers offered wholesome products[39] as a shopper's guide. The magazine also instructed its readers not to buy grocer's spices, extracts or coffee, because there was not assurance that these products were pure. Women were also told to avoid products without a brand name and they should only buy the more expensive milk with a "certified" label. Since many dairy men fraudulently used the "certified" label, the magazine offered a list of dairies offering pure milk.[40]

The women, who were willing to take the pure food campaign into the streets, into the halls of Congress, into the state legislature, into the "larger household," would make the lasting improvements to the nation's food supply. These women looked to Good Housekeeping for a blueprint for reform. As early as 1901, the magazine offered free "kits" to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure food law. In 1906, the magazine formed "The Pure Food League" to push for a Pure Food Act nationally and on the state level.

> The plan, unvarnished truth is this: all kinds of influence are being used in Washington to defeat any food legislation. Not content with this, the patent medicine fakirs and food adulterators seek to eliminate all food investigations from the U.S. department of agriculture.

The league had to correct this. Its members (women) had "the numbers,. time, disposition, knowledge, energy and power to enforce their demands."[41]

The Pure Food and Drug Act did not turn out to be the solution that Good Housekeeping had hoped. The magazine continued to monitor the "steadily undermined" law. From the magazine's perspective, the special threat was the undermining of the authority of the Department of Agriculture. "Certain food, liquor and drug interests have been persistently at work...,sapping and mining, until the very walls of the hard-built structure threaten to crumble." Women, again, had to do something, but this time through the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers League.[42] ~~The~~ Good Housekeeping's monitoring continued into the 1920s. The magazine was aided in this by H.W. Wiley, a former chemist from the Department of Agriculture and the individual credited with being the "Father" of the Pure Food and Drug Act, who joined the editorial staff as a columnist.

The Pictorial Review, Delineator and Woman's Home Companion joined the foray later; in so doing, they brought the problems associated with the food supply to a much larger audience. Each of these publications had a circulation at least three times ~~as~~ larger than Good Housekeeping's.

Initially, the Delineator dismissed the adulteration threat as mere sensationalism; but two years later, the editor re-examined the issue and commissioned a domestic science "expert" to take another look at the subject. The result was a 12-part series on the problems associated with the food supply. Not only did the magazine cover the topic of food additives, much of which had already been covered by Good Housekeeping, but also conditions in outdoor markets and small groceries. In the opening article, Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel reported the "foul odors, filth and rottenness beyond belief" at an outdoor market. Poultry was blue, black and yellow with decay; shrimp was "embalmed" with preservatives; meat rotted in the sun. Later in the series, the author accompanied a milk inspector into a small shop run by "a frowsy woman, who has not yet learned the English language." The inspector noted that the woman's shop had been closed down more than once, but it was hopeless; the woman did not know "how to clean," the inspector explained.[43]

Stories on the quality of the food supply marked Pictorial Review's debut into muckraking. As early as 1903, the Pictorial Review carried a warning about the quality of certain food. Ground rice was added to sugar; coffee was adulterated with chicory beams; milk was diluted with chalk or water; and raspberry jam~~s~~ was corrupted by bird seed. The writer cautioned, "there is so much adulteration of food nowadays that it takes an expert to discover the fraud."[44] However, most of the Pictorial Review muckraking would have to await the arrival of a new editor in 1907.

That editor, Arthur Vance, was still at the Woman's Home Companion, overseeing that magazine's investigative series on adulterated foods. The Companion's three-part series appeared in 1905 and was written by Henry Irving

Dodge. There was little new in the series. Good Housekeeping had revealed much of the material.

Dodge prepared his work with the cooperation of Dr. W.D. Bigelow, chief of the Division of Foods for the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, and reported the results of that agency's laboratory tests. "Old reliable coffee" had not a single coffee bean. Milk was poisoned with formaldehyde. Dodge estimated that in New York alone 10,976 cases of infant death could be traced to the poisoned milk. Yet, Congress would do nothing. Something had to be done and women had to do it, according to Dodge.

> Women of the United States, remember that every man who draws pay from the public is your servant. Do not request, but instruct, your assemblyman to vote for no man for the United States Senate who will not pledge himself to protect the vitality of your baby by voting--aye, working--for the Pure-Food Bill.[45]

This, alone, was a reason for women to have the vote. Although the Companion did not editorially support female suffrage in its muckraking days, Dodge still pushed for the principle.

> Mothers of the land, here's something on which to base a campaign for suffrage. No abstraction this. If babies aren't a living issue, then in the name of God what is? You have demanded of the men an accounting of their stewardship, and the millions of tiny mounds throughout the country are your answer. They are poisoning your children. It is you who must come to the rescue. Look at the white face and undeveloped calf of your baby, and ask yourself whence came this travesty of man? Poisoned milk! Poisoned milk! Like a warning from the watch-tower: "Murder! Fire!! Stop, thief!!" the epitome of all the crimes in the calendar is that terrible crime, "Poisoned milk!"[46]

Surprisingly, the Ladies' Home Journal did not get involved with the investigation of adulterated foods. However, its muckraking into another issue helped to bring about the same legislation--the Pure Food and Drug Act. The Journal's campaign against the "patent medicine curse" was the best known of the muckraking done by the women's magazines.[47] However, the Journal was not alone in uncovering the "evils" of the patent medicine nostrums. Good Housekeeping also carried stories about the content of patent medicines. However, Good Housekeeping's reporting on patent medicines was always secondary to its work on food adulteration.

Both magazines extensively covered the problem between 1904 and 1906, when the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed.[48] Both had the freedom to do so because neither accepted patent medicine advertising.[49] However, the Journal carried more stories and devoted more editorial space to patent medicine abuses than Good Housekeeping.

Editor Edward Bok wrote most of the stories; and, while clearly he was reporting facts, the largest number of these articles appeared on the Journal's editorial page. One of the first stories on the issue appeared in the May 1904 issue in an editorial, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," and the accompanying sidebar listed the alcohol content of various brands of patent medicines. The results were startling: Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters had 47.5 percent alcohol; Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, 44.3 percent; Boker's Stomach Bitters, 42.6 percent; Parker's Tonic, "purely vegetable," 41.6 percent. Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound had relatively little--20.6 percent.[50]

Bok saw a real problem. Women were doctoring themselves and their families with dangerous alcoholic nostrums. Temperance women were turning to "bitters" to cure their "sluggishness." Pregnant women used "Doctor Pierce's

Favorite Prescription," which contained digitalis, opium, oil of anise and alcohol (17 percent).[51] Bok admonished his readers,

> No woman has a moral right to give a medicine to her child, or to any other member of her family, or to take any medicine herself, the ingredients of which either she does not know or has not the assurance of a responsible physician to be harmless.[52]

Bok not only revealed the exact percentages of alcohol in certain medicines but also uncovered unethical business practices of the patent medicine manufacturers. Letters, written by women in the "strictest confidence" to doctors at these companies, were read, made light of, shared and sold. Bok explained that each letter went through at least eight different sets of hands (none of which was a doctor's) before a reply was sent,

> **...and if there is anything "spicy" you will see the heads of two or three girls get together and enjoy (!) the "spice." Very often these "spicy bits" are taken home and shown to their friends and families of these girls and men!**[53]

The letters, as well as the names and addresses of the correspondents, were sold. One letter broker offered 44,000 "Bust and Developer" letters and 40,000 "Women's Regulator" letters. The Journal even rented three classes of letters: "Bust Developers," "'Secret' Against Motherhood" and "Female Complaints." The magazine did not reprint any of these letters, although Bok reported that many were "heartbreaking."[54]

Even when a woman did receive a response to her letter, she could not trust the advice. The response was merely a form letter. Nor could she trust the enclosed medicine. "The medicines are put up by young girls who are constantly making mistakes and sending men's remedies to women, and vice versa. They can't do otherwise because they have to send out a certain number of treatments in a given time."[55]

Nor could the testimonials be trusted. A number had not even tried the medicine and allowed the companies to use their names for money. Others did not know their names had been used. A few were honest testimonials but could these really be trusted? "It stands to reason that no woman of the slightest judgment or taste or self-respect would allow this for a moment; hence those who allow such a gross violation of a woman's modesty hardly, to say the least, belong to the class whose word counts for much!"[56]

Bok saw women as the solution to the patent medicine "curse." They had to work for change. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, a group already organized throughout the nation, was the solution to the problem, Bok argued. However, this group was not immediately ready to carry out a campaign. Indeed, many WCTU members did not even see dangers associated with the medicines. Some used "bitters"; others allowed patent medicine advertising to be printed on their barns and fences.[57]

By 1906, Bok, who never editorially supported female suffrage, urged women to work for state legislation to protect the "safety of yourself and your child" and label the contents of patent medicines. He anticipated opposition from newspapers who stood to lose so much advertising revenue, but women had to overcome this and get legislators to introduce the model legislation that Bok printed in the magazine. He saw no conflict between his stance on suffrage and the lobbying he recommended. Working to control patent medicines was a mother's duty.

> A mother's right to this [to know what is in medicine] supersedes all other rights. In her hands sometimes rests

> the life which she is caring for, and everything that can be made easy and simple and plain to such a woman should be made so. And the law should see to it that the right is given to that mother.[58]

Thus, Bok blended muckraking journalism with personal appeals to women as mothers to carry on a war against patent medicines. Good Housekeeping used the same appeals. The magazine carried lists of medicines with high alcohol content. Some were the same as the Journal's; others were different. Even after the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, Good Housekeeping continued to warn about the deadly products for babies that contained opium, morphine, heroin, codeine or chloroform. Medicines were not the only threat. Even cosmetics, which were not covered by any legislation, posed a danger. Kinthe's Beauty Cream contained mercury; Berry's Freckle Ointment had zinc oxide, and Madame Uceline's Face Bleach had a corrosion sublimate.[59]

Just as the patent medicine campaign grew out of women's traditional roles as nurturer and mother, so, too, did the muckraking that revolved around child labor and child welfare. The child labor campaign was most closely associated with the Woman's Home Companion. Not surprisingly, a slightly broader campaign--child welfare--was continued in the Pictorial Review. Both campaigns were under the editorial direction of the same man, Arthur Vance.

Vance began the campaign in the Companion in 1906. He took a slightly different tact in his muckraking, however. The Companion carried the investigative stories, of course, but also offered fiction, photography and illustration to carry on the campaign.

The child labor issue was introduced in the May 1906 Companion issue; it gathered momentum until it reached a crescendo with the September edition, the "child labor number," and continued into 1907 with a regular child labor column.

The campaign was long and intense because the magazine was out to end the abuse. "THE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION is **going to stop this evil**. Not talk about it, preach about it, not portray the horrors of it, and then drop it."[60] The contributors to the campaign read like a who's who of child labor activism: John Spargo, author of The Bitter Cry of the Children; Owen P. Lovejoy and A.J. McKelway, of the National Child Labor Committee, and Sen. Albert J. Beveridge, a Progressive and early convert to the anti-child labor platform. In preparing their stories, these activists used not only the resources of the Companion but drew on their own experiences as well as the expertise of their colleagues in reform. Generally, the investigative journalism was of two sorts: stories that outlined the working conditions (including pay schedules); and those that looked at the home conditions of these children. Writers emphasized that both dehumanized the children.

The contributors to the Companion wrote of the hundreds of thousands of children, some even under the age of 8, who were forced to work, making artificial flowers, candles, paper bags and clothing. Some worked in the mines as "breaker boys." Nonetheless, they all shared two things: inhumane conditions and slave wages. John Spargo provided these wages for New York child garment workers: men's trousers, 12-1/2 cents each; boys knee pants, 50 cents per dozen; neckties, $1.25 per gross; women's wrappers, 49 cents per dozen, and silk waists, 98 cents per dozen. These children were also physically abused in the workplace. Foremen threw cold water on sleeping children or prodded them with sticks. "But even worse than the voluntary cruelty of the taskmaster is the inexorable cruelty of the disease breeding, life-destroying, existence these children must lead," Spargo wrote.[61]

The next month, Spargo continued his emotional reports with accounts of individual families forced to rely on the labor of children to survive. The widow

Rose Goldberg of New York sent four of her six children (all under 12) to work making paper bags. No one reported the children to the truant officer for four years. Spargo also incorporated reports by Companion correspondent Rheta Childe Dorr. Italian Angelina Caspero, 10, wanted to go to school to learn to read and write but could not because she had to sew.[62]

Tragedy seemed to follow these children. Sweat shops bred disease and children soon fell ill. Others were injured in industrial accidents. Nora Mahoney, a pseudonym for a girl working in Parke's Woolen Mill in Philadelphia, had her "arm chewed up in the machinery." The machine was not stopped; the company did not call the ambulance; she had to work home before getting medical assistance. The "breaker boys" were also maimed and killed on the job. Working for such companies as Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Co., the Lehigh Valley Coal Co., Thomas Coal Co., W. and R. McTurk Coal Co., Rover Run Coal Co., Parish Coal Co., Pennsylvania Coal Co., Erie Coal and Iron Co., and Delaware & Hudson Coal Co., some 12,000 boys between the ages of 9 and 14 worked as coal breakers in the anthracite fields. As was the case with many of the children discussed in the Companion, the authors did not use real names but the details were accurate. Peter Swamberg, who was pictured, lost his arm when he was 16. Joe Bartuskey, 9, was "blown to bits" in an accident three months before the magazine was published. Many of these children were illiterate, having only one or two years of formal education. The "breaker boys" were supposed to be protected by Pennsylvania state law that prohibited anyone under 14 from working as a breaker, but the law was weak and badly enforced.[63]

The Companion did not stop with investigative journalism. The magazine's anti-child labor campaign spilled over into cartoons by the well known artist Home Davenport, photography of dirty, undernourished children and fiction.[64]

Like the other magazines, the Companion made appeals to traditional roles and responsibilities to urge women to get involved in the campaign to rid the nation of child labor. Under this reasoning, the mother--as the natural protector of the child--had the responsibility to mold public opinion and lead the community away from child labor. One of the ways women could do this was by joining the "Children's Anti-Slavery League," a reform organization sponsored by the magazine. The magazine regularly carried membership blanks and processed all applications for the group.[65]

The Pictorial Review's muckraking on behalf of the children was not as clearly defined. Unlike the Companion that focused solely on labor, the Pictorial Review expanded the investigation into the broader issue of "child welfare." The magazine promised "a vigorous campaign in the interests of the American child."[66] The series seemed to begin with the April 1910 issue,[67] ~~when~~ with Helen Christine Bennett's story examin~~ed~~ing child labor through a look at the "Easter hat." Her story related how children in New York, some as young as 4, worked to prepare the flowers for hats in tenements, in shops and in factories. Working for low wages (flowers at 3.5 cents per gross), the children slaved away instead of going to schools. In a millinery room, boys and girls made plumes, amid a cloud of black dust. Doctors did not know if those clouds posed a danger to the health of these children.

> Woven into the simplicity and elegance of the Easter hat bargain are the play hours of little children, the health and youth of underpaid girls, the strength and vitality of ill-fed men. The mirror of truth reflects not only a pretty face and charming hat, but also dimly-lit rooms where far into the night toil tiny workers, noisy factories where the air is foul and the hours long, youthful shoulders bent above their task, with fingers flying ever quicker and quicker for the pittance that work brings.[68]

From a base of labor, the series seemed to go every direction, from campaigns to "save babies," to policies and plans needed to help children in the cities (written by the mayor of New York), to battles to save children in specific cities, to the social center movement to help the children and their families, to individual heroes in the campaign to "save the children."[69] Everything needed to be investigated, including the dangers associated with movie theaters.

According to Anna Steese Richardson, movies posed a serious danger to children, not because of their content but because of the environment they fostered. More than one young child had been corrupted by evil forces that lurked in the darkened auditorium. "Evil has always lurked in dark corners, and in the darkness of the moving picture theater to-day, moral degeneracy, with red-rimmed eye and loose-hanging lip, lies in wait for youth and innocence." Richardson used reports by police and civic groups to assemble a string of accounts of young girls led to corruption by ushers, porters or men who frequented the movies. The best solution to this problem, Richardson suggested, was to light the theaters. Parents, also, had to investigate local houses.

> You can't fight this evil, this terrible moral danger for your children by simply prohibiting the pleasure. You've simply got to make the pleasure what it should be, wholesome, clean and free from immoral influences.[70]

While the Pictorial Review's child welfare investigations seemed far flung and unfocused, the Delineator's approach seemed concise and to the point. The magazine launched three campaigns: the first looked into the quality of public schools in selected communities; another was waged under the reform banner of the "Child-Rescue League";[71] the last examined state laws that hindered women in their control of their children and their property.

Rheta Childe Dorr had responsibility for uncovering the corruption in the city's schools.[72] In the three-part series, Dorr reported the substandard conditions in the schools in a variety of cities. Fire escapes were rotten in some Pittsburgh schools; New York City kindergarten, sewing and manual training classes lacked supplies; Chicago offered the "most striking example of systematic looting of school revenues for the benefit of outside interests." Dorr also found that the schools were not doing a good job of educating children. Although their budgets reached into the millions, schools failed to educate the students. Children could not read intelligently, write legibly or solve simple arithmetic problems. As a result, grammar-school graduates go out to the work place "as ignorant and helpless as kittens," unfit for the business world.[73]

While Dorr and the magazine saw that parents had to get involved in the schools to clean up the corruption and to improve the curriculum, the Delineator never organized a reform group to correct this abuse.[74] The magazine did create one, however, to rescue the children from orphanages. The "National Child-Rescue League" was designed to exercise "friendly interest in the waifs," by reporting cases of neglect or abuse to the proper authorities. But the real aim was to eliminate the orphan asylum for as stories pointed out in stories, these institutions were no place for children.[75]

William Hard's series on the legal rights of women, particularly as they related to their rights to children in divorce cases, capped the Delineator's investigations into children in American society. The year-long series looked into the legal rights of women--particularly as they related to property ownership--but the articles especially emphasized women's legal rights to children.[76] Hard looked at legislation in the states to determine just what ~~were~~ the rights of women were. Hard found that only about one-third of the states had joint guardianship assured by the courts. Without such laws, women in divorce cases had no right to their children. Hard provided case after case of women losing custody of their children because of the inequitable laws. None, however, compared to the tragedy of the Naramore family in Massachusetts. Mrs. Naramore had six children and a "shiftless" husband, who sold off all their possessions. He then decided that five of the children should go to strangers and his wife and youngest child to the poor house. "Shiftless and thriftless as he might be, he still was, by virtue of his sex, the sole primary guardian of these children. It was his, wholly his, to make the original decision about them," Hard wrote. The wife disagreed and killed all her children. This alone would have convinced Delineator readers. But every month in 1912, Hard continued ~~with the~~ to cite abuses. In Buffalo, NY, a husband with a wife and eight children left them near destitution on a weekly allowance of $6 per week. The father spent another $6 a week in the saloons. In Texas, a married woman, separated from her husband, lost all her property. Her estranged husband had sold it. He even sued for her unpaid wages--and won.[77]

To correct these abuses, the Delineator offered a three-fold solution. First, the magazine offered model state legislation to give women property rights and rights to their children. The model legislation was printed in a number of issues of the magazine.[78] Second, the magazine organized a "Home League," a lobby group to get state laws to protect women passed. The League, which had no dues, required only that members work for the adoption of state legislation to protect women. "*It is not at all necessary that we should be in favor of suffrage in order to be in favor of the increase of women's power in their homes,*" Hard insisted.[79] Finally, the magazine lent William Hard himself to Texas and Tennessee to work for reform legislation. "We intend not only to *appeal to* the interests of women, but to *advance* those interests whenever and wherever we can."[80]

Five of the "Big Six" carried much muckraking journalism, uncovering the corruption and abuses within women's traditional sphere. These publications were driven by conservative impulses and traditional concerns as they urged their readers into the "larger household."

In contrast, McCall's never ventured into muckraking. The "Queen of Fashion" failed to provide investigative journalism. Indeed, some of the nonfiction seemed to run counter to the muckraking of the competition. McCall's ran stories of hobbies of millionaires, including John D. Rockefeller, how to stories and employment advice.[81] The closest McCall's came to muckraking was a brief story on how poor children often had to look after younger brothers and sisters while their mothers worked."[82]

Why, then, the difference?

During the muckraking period, McCall's did sell for less than the other periodicals in its niche.[83] However, there was little to suggest that McCall's was aimed at women of a different economic group. The fashions illustrated, which represented much of the editorial content of the magazine, were clearly aimed at women of at least middle class. Nor was the magazine published in a location where female involvement in the Progressive movement was unknown. McCall's was published in New York.

There are several possible explanations as to why McCall's did not venture into muckraking. First, as a journalistic enterprise, muchraking was expensive. McCall's, which was recovering from the financial reverses of the late nineteenth century, may not have had the resources or the staff to commit to muckraking.[84] Second, the lack of muckraking may have represented a conscious editorial decision. McCall's--by not doing muckraking--stood out in its niche. Thus, McCall's became an alternative for women who might not want to read about the corruptions within their sphere.

McCall's notwithstanding, five of the "Big Six" were important vehicles for muckraking in the early twentieth century. Their importance can be seen on three levels. First, these publications brought a number of abuses to light. Thus, just for their journalism of "exposure," these periodicals deserve a place in the history of muckraking. However, their contributions extended beyond "exposure." These magazines also offered practical solutions for eliminating some of the ills within the home and offered a blueprint for reform for work outside it. The Journal, the Companion, Good Housekeeping, the Delineator and Pictorial Review accomplished this in a variety of ways, either by urging pre-existing women's groups to correct the ill or by organizing their own reform leagues to remedy the situation. Finally, these publications crafted an argument which would ring throughout the Progressive Movement: women had a right, indeed a duty, to correct the ills of society, the "larger household."

Unfortunately, that was an argument that failed to ring among the historians chronicling the Progressive Movement and Muckraking.

Endnotes

---

[1] Helen Woodward, The Lady Persuaders, New York: Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 1960, pp. 112-113.

[2] Between September 1910 and May 1911, Ladies' Home Journal was published twice a month.

[3] When they look at women's magazines at all, historians focus on the Ladies' Home Journal and its patent medicine muckraking. This represents only a nod to even the Journal's muckraking because the magazine covered a number of problems in society, including venereal disease. See Edward Bok, "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal, September 1908, p. 1. For the passing references to the Journal, see, for example, Harvey Swados (ed.), Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers, Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1962, p. 9. Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism, Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Review, 1961, ppl 148-151. The best account of Bok as a muckraker is Salme Harju Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward W. Bok and the Ladies' Home Journal, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. However, even in this book-length treatment, the author fails to look beyond the Journal to other women's magazines.

[4] See, for example, Arthur and Lila Weinberg, The Muckrakers: The Era of Journalism that Moved America to Reform--The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961; Walter M. Brasch, Forerunners of Revolution: Muckraking and the American Social Conscience, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990; David Mark Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers, New York: Citadel Press, 1964. William David Sloan has provided a thoughtful look at the historiography of muckraking in his essay, "The Muckrakers, 1901-1917: Defenders of Conservatism or Liberal Reformers?" in Perspectives on Mass Communication History, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991.

[5] Notwithstanding Ida Tarbell's importance to muckraking, most historians continue to focus primarily on the male journalists of this time period. Although Louis Filler incorporates women journalists into his book, his composite of the muckraker remains male. Indeed, in that composite, he never uses a female pronoun. Louis Filler, The Muckrakers, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976, pp. 3-7. See also Judson A. Grenier, "Muckraking the Muckrakers: Upton Sinclair and His Peers," in David P. Colburn and George E. Pozetta (eds.), Reform and Reformer in the Progressive Era, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983.

[6] See earlier comments on Ladies' Home Journal.

[7] Weinberg, The Muckrakers, p. xviii. Chalmers offers this definition of muckraking: "The muckrakers, then, were tne school of magazine journalists of the first decade of the twentieth century who wrote factual accounts of the widespread corruption of society by the forces of wealth." Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers, p. 15.

[8] Clinton Roger Woodruff, "Woman and Her Larger Home," Good Housekeeping, January 1909, pp. 4-5.

[9] "An Editorial Declaration," Pictorial Review, May 1913, p. 3.

---

[10] One of the best new treatments of the role of the middle-class woman in the Progressive Movement is Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider, American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920, New York: Facts on File, 1993. Of course, the middle-class basis was not peculiar to women as can be seen in Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

[11] Louis Filler, Appointment At Armageddon: Muckraking and Progressivism in the American Tradition, Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976, pp. 264-265.

[12] Schneider, American Women in the Progressive Era, pp. 93-113.

[13] See, for example, Walter I. Trattner, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970, and Meredith Tax, The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980.

[14] Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 148-149. See, also, "Our Ten Years," Good Housekeeping, October 1910, pp. 502-503 and "Pure Food Assurance," Good Housekeeping, February 1907, p. 188.

[15] "Our Ten Years," October 1910, pp. 502-503.

[16] A variety of writers congratulated the Ladies' Home Journal for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. To his credit, Bok declined the congratulations, saying that the magazine had only brought the facts to light. His readers had done the rest. "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal, October 1906, p. 1.

[17] There is general agreement among historians that these ten years were the high point of muckraking. Regier notes that the movement began in 1902, became militant between 1903 and 1905 and was a force felt throughout the nation in 1906. Regier notes that it was dying down by 1908. In contrast, Weinberg puts the starting point at the same year but puts the "militant stride" at 1905 to 1906, a revitalization in 1909-1910 and an ebbing in 1911. Cornelius C. Regier, "The Balance Sheet," in Herbert Shapiro (ed.) The Muckrakers and American Society, Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1968, pp. 37-47; Weinberg, The Muckrakers, p. xvi.

[18] Mott , History of American Magazines, vol. 4, p. 360,

[19] In 1911, the magazine was acquired by Hearst, see Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 5: Sketches of 21 Magazines, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

[20] Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 25-28.

[21] McCall's sold for 50 cents per year, the rest of the magazines sold for $1 per year.

[22] Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 5, p. 125; Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 4, p. 16; Woodward, The Lady Persuaders, p. 138; "The Editor's Page," Pictorial Review, April 1910, p. 3; Robert Cantwell, "Journalism--The Magazines," in Shapiro (ed.), The Muckrakers and American Society, p. 22.

---

[23] Rev. Walter Walsh, "Woman and the Municipality: The Need of the Domestic Ideal in Municipal Activities," Good Housekeeping, November 1908, p. 499.

[24] "You Might Do It, Too," Delineator, June 1909, p. 766.

[25] Most of Dorr's reporting was incorporated into stories written by one of the experts in the field. See, for example, John Spargo, "Child Slaves in the Slums," Woman's Home Companion, July 1906, pp. 3-5, 49. The Pictorial Review also carried a fairly extensive investigative series on child welfare. A number of writers contributed to that series, including William J. Gaynor, the New York mayor, who was involved in various civic plans to enhance the quality of life of urban children, Anna Steese Richardson, who, although she was a journalist, had extensive experience covering women's reform groups and civic improvement plans at the Companion, and Helen Christine Bennett, who was never identified by formal ties to any club or organization involved with child welfare.

[26] William Hard was a muckraking journalist whose best known work was his exposes of workmen's compensation. Much of Hard's work appeared in Everybody's. Hard's connection with the Delineator in 1911 and 1912 may have been the result of Butterick's acquisition of Everybody's. Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 272-273. See also, "Introducing a New Friend, Erman J. Ridgway," Delineator, March 1910, p. 204.

[27] Good Housekeeping organized a league to work to pass state and local laws to control adulterated foods. The Woman's Home Companion organized a group to work to eliminate child labor in the United States. The Delineator organized another league to rescue orphans or neglected children and a home league to work for changes in state legislation to give women equal rights to property and their children. "A Campaign for Pure Food," Good Housekeeping, October 1901, p. 338; "Anti-Slavery League," Woman's Home Companion, June 1906, p. 1; "The National Child-Rescue League," Delineator, February 1909, p. 25; and William Hard, "Real Work Begins to Secure Better Laws for the Home," Delineator, April 1912, pp. 287-288, 367-368.

[28] The Ladies' Home Journal drafted some model legislation designed for the states, see February 1906, pp. 1 and 20; the model state legislation offered by the Delineator was designed to give married women equal rights to property and their children, see William Hard, "At Last--A Programme: A Law to Make the Children 'Theirs,'" March 1912, pp. 187-188, 236.

[29] Delineator, Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, Pictorial Review and Woman's Home Companion offered a wide range of investigative muckraking journalism during this period. The following campaigns that are highlighted are designed to give the reader a look at just a few of these campaigns. End notes will indicate some of the other muckraking series.

[30] For a fuller discussion of this view, see Ida Tarbell, The Business of Being a Woman, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1925.

[31] Food preparation and home maintenance were the primarily editorial focuses of Good Housekeeping. Mott notes that the magazine started its fight against the misrepresentation of food products well before the opening of the muckraking decade--with the editorial entitled, "Guard Against Adulteration," September 1886 (p. 250). See Mott, History of American Magazines, vol. 5, p. 137.

---

[32] "A Campaign for Pure Food," Good Housekeeping, October 1901, p. 338.

[33] "The Good Housekeeping Institute," Good Housekeeping, February 1901, p. 142.

[34] Good Housekeeping bemoaned much of the sensationalism of the muckraking of adulterated food and vowed to take a different tact. "The literature of exposure has set forth sensational tales of adulteration, substitution, sophistication, fraud and criminality in food products until the average person is in despair as to what to eat." Good Housekeeping decided to take a "positive" approach via a "Pure Food Assurance" column with stories about pure foods available for sale. Herbert Myrick, "Our Great Constructive Policy," Good Housekeeping, May 1906, pp. 524-527.

[35] See, for example, "Roll of Honor," Good Housekeeping, January 1906, p. 69; February 1906, p. 187 and March 1906, pp. 303-304, and "Our Annual Round Up of Good Foods," August 1906, pp. 151-153.

[36] "Food Adulteration," Good Housekeeping, October 1902, p. 259.

[37] "The Price of Clean Milk," Good Housekeeping, February 1908, p. 149 and H.W. Wiley, "Injurious Food Adjunct," January 1902, pp. 22-25.

[38] E.H. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," Good Housekeeping, December 1901, pp. 474-475, and R.O. Brooks, "Quality of Flavoring Extracts," Good Housekeeping, November 1906, pp. 526-528.

[39] In an early report on the "seal of approval," which began appearing in April 1902, Good Housekeeping reported that only two advertisers had been removed from the magazine because they failed to live up to quality standards. The magazine refunded the money for the purchase to the buyers. "Our Guarantee," Good Housekeeping, August 1903, p. 386.

[40] E.H. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," Good Housekeeping, December 1901, pp. 474-475; "Sources of Certified Milk," June 1907, pp. 634-635; "Pure Food Assurance: A Positive Guide to the Choice of Healthful Food Preparations," November 1905, pp. 531-534.

[41] "The Pure Food League," Good Housekeeping, July 1906, pp. 49-50. See also "Workings of the Pure Food Law," February 1907, p. 188.

[42] "Pure Food Betrayed," Good Housekeeping, September 1910, pp. 318-319; "The National Food Scandal," November 1911, pp. 720-721, "Debauching the Label," October 1910, pp. 490-491.

[43] The Delineator earliest story food adulteration was written by a physician, who dismissed the danger: "The adulterations are for the most part harmless--coloring material, for instance, which is used to improve the appearance or to make cheaper brands look like the more expensive ones" (Dr. Grace Peckham Murray, "Health in the Household: The Food Problem," August 1903, p. 258). In 1905, the Delineator announced plans to cover the food adulteration topic fully. At the same time, the magazine editorially supported some sort of national pure food act, "...every friend of honest legislation will demand its [a national pure food act] passage in the next [Congress]. And this is where you, too, you members of the [Delineator] Family, can do your part, you that are members of

clubs and you that are heads of households, by concerted action among yourselves, and by stimulating your fathers, husbands and brothers, bring pressure on your political representatives that cannot be ignored. It is a subject of such vital interest to you that should should enter into it heart and soul" ("Personal Talks with The Delineator Family," August 1905, pp. 167-168). Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel, "Safe Foods and How to Get Them," Delineator, September 1905, pp. 394-395; "III--Official Milk Inspection," November 1905, p.916. See also "No. 2--Clean Milk," October 1905, pp. 588-589,696-697; "No. V--Glucose and its Uses," January 1906, pp. 101-103,153.

[44] "Adulterated Food," Pictorial Review, April 1903, p. 33. This was oneof the few stories that dealt with adulterated food. The Pictorial Review did not carry much muckraking until Vance came aboard as editor.

[45] The death numbers were new. Henry Irving Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," Woman's Home Companion, March 1905, pp. 6-9, 53; Henry Irving Dodge, "The Remedy: 'Call a Spade a Spade,'" May 1905, p. 49. In a related campaign, the Woman's Home Companion uncovered unsanitary conditions in some of the grocery stories of the day. In one story, an unidentified writer reported that s/he found 10 dead flies in a pound of packaged sugar, a cigarette stub in a pound of tapioca and two cockroaches in a pint of pickles ("Keeping the Bins Closed," Woman's Home Companion, February 1908, p. 13). This was also a topic of concern for Good Housekeeping. In one story in that magazine, Lilian Tingle reported the sanitary conditions in the candy room of one story (Lilian Tingle, "Clean Market Day in Portland," Good Housekeeping, July 1908, pp. 99-102).

[46] Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," March 1904, p. 53.

[47] The patent medicine investigation was not the only muckraking done by the Journal. Bok and the Journal also did stories on the problems associated with the ignorance about sex and urged readers to be more forthcoming with their children. "In An Editorial Way," Ladies' Home Journal, October 1906, p. 51; Charles W. Eliot, "The Policy of Silence," June 1911, pp. 6, 63; Rev. Arthur C. Hall, "My Reasons for Believing that Mothers Should Speak Out," June 1911, pp. 6, 63. Bok also dealt with some of the problems associated with venereal disease. "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal, September 1908, p. 1. The magazine also covered the problems with the public drinking cup. Bok, "How She Proved a Fad," November 1911, p. 6.

[48] The Journal's first story on the topic appeared as an open letter to the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, urging them not to advertise patent medicines on their barns and fences. However, the investigations into the content of the patent medicines and the business dealings of those companies did not begin until 1904. Edward Bok, "How Women Can Be Good Americans," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1903, p. 16.

[49] The Delineator and Pictorial Review followed similar practices. However, Pictorial Review had not adopted this policy at its beginning. Early on, the magazine carried advertising for "Breast Developers" and cures for "Bright's Disease." Advertisements, Pictorial Review, May 1903, p. 45.

[50] "The Alcohol of Patent Medicine," Ladies' Home Journal, May 1904, p. 18.

[51] Dr. V. Mott Pierce sued Curtis Publishing for $200,000 because of this article. The Journal lost that case in court and had to pay $16,000 in damages. It seems that Pierce had changed his formula. The Journal's listing had the contents of the earlier formula. In July, the Journal ran a

---

correction and reported that Pierce's medicine no longer carried digitalis, opium and alcohol. "The mistake was honestly made, but it was a mistake." Edward Bok, "Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription: A Retraction," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1904, p. 18. See also Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace, pp. 102-103.

[52] Edward Bok, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," Ladies' Home Journal, May 1904, p. 18.

[53] Edward Bok, "How the Private Confidences of Women Are Laughed At," Ladies' Home Journal, November 1904, p. 18. Bold face is in the original.

[54] Mark Sullivan, "Did Mr. Bok Tell the Truth?", Ladies' Home Journal, January 1906, p. 18 and Edward Bok, "I Write You in Absolute Confidence," March 1909, p. 1.

[55] Sullivan, "Did Mr. Bok Tell the Truth?" January 1906, p. 18.

[56] Mark Sullivan, "The Inside Story of a Sham," Ladies' Home Journal, January 1906, p. 14.

[57] Edward Bok, "A Few Words to the W.C.T.U.," Ladies' Home Journal, September 1904, p. 18 and Bok, "How Women Can Be Good Americans," July 1903, p. 16.

[58] Edward Bok, "To You: A Personal Word," Ladies' Home Journal, February 1906, p. 20.

[59] "Notes on Progress," Good Housekeeping, February 1906, pp. 186-187; Emmett Campbell Hall, "Deadly Drugs and Beverages," November 1910, pp. 582-584; and Ann Lewis Pierce, "Short Cuts to Beauty," September 1912, pp. 397-398.

[60] Woman's Home Companion, May 1906, p. 1.

[61] John Spargo, "The Great Army of Child Slaves," Woman's Home Companion, June 1906, pp. 7-8.

[62] John Spargo, "Child Slaves of the Slums," Woman's Home Companion, July 1906, pp. 3-5.

[63] Spargo, "Child Slaves of the Slums," pp. 4-5; Viola Roseboro and Marie Best, "Nora Mahoney--a Human Document: A True Story of Child Slavery in Philadelphia," Woman's Home Companion, August 1906, pp. 3-4; Owen P. Lovejoy, "In the Shadow of the Coal Breaker," September 1906, pp. 9-11.

[64] Homer Davenport, illustrations, Woman's Home Companion, September 1906, pp. 28-29; photography associated with Lovejoy, "In the Shadow of the Coal Breaker," September 1906, pp. 9-11; A.J. McKelway, "How the Fight for the Children Was Won in Georgia," October 1906, pp. 18-19, 21. In Jack London, "The Apostate," September 1906, pp. 5-7,49, the main character, a child laborer, ended as a "twisted and stunted and nameless piece of life that shambled, stoop shouldered, narrow-chested, grotesque and terrible." See p. 49.

[65] This group later merged with the National Child Labor Committee but the Companion continued to campaign against child labor. Samuel McCune Lindsay," Woman's Share in the New Child Labor Program," Woman's Home Companion, December 1906, p. 16 and "A Thanksgiving Proclamation," Woman's Home Companion, November 1906, p. 24.

---

[66] William J. Gaynor, "The Municipality and the Child," Pictorial Review, September 1910, p. 17.

[67] A full account of all of the Pictorial Review's journalism is not possible because the author could not locate two key years of issues. The years 1907 and 1908 and part of 1909 were missing from the run. These were the years when Vance assumed the editorship and "repositioned" the magazine. Of all the "Big Six," the Pictorial Review was the most difficult to locate, perhaps because it is the least known (although not the smallest in terms of circulation or advertising) of the magazines of this group.

[68] Helen Christine Bennett, "The Story of Your Easter Hat," Pictorial Review, April 1910, p.19.

[69] "How to Save Babies," Pictorial Review, April 1910, p. 39; William J. Gaynor, "The Municipality and the Child," September 1910, pp. 17, 61; Anna Steese Richardson, "The Fight to Save Chicago's Children: The Story of the Uphill Battle Planned, Fought and Won by Earnest-minded Women," March 1911, pp. 6-7; Anna Steese Richardson, "'Getting Acquainted': The Social Center Movement and Its Plea for a Broader Use of the Public Schools," November 1910, pp. 6-7; Helen Christine Bennett, "Mrs. Frederick Schoff of Philadelphia: A Champion of Unfortunate Children," January 1911, pp. 6-7.

[70] Anna Steese Richardson, "The Menace of the Moving Picture Theater," Pictorial Review, October 1910, pp. 9, 67.

[71] "The Child-Rescue League," Delineator, January 1909, p. 102.

[72] Good Housekeeping carried on a muckraking investigation into urban schools and the dangers there at about the same time. Cora Reese did that investigation. See Perils of Pittsburg Schools, Good Housekeeping, December 1908, pp. 45-49; "Those Washington Schools," July 1909, pp. 116a-b; "Chicago's School Buildings: Danger Spots in the Vast School System," Febraruy 1910, pp. 208-215; "St. Louis School Buildings: A Searching Study of their Defects," April 1910, pp. 485-493; "Cincinnati Schools," May 1910. pp. 61--615.

[73] Rheta Childe Dorr, "The Robbery of the Schools," Delineator, January 1909, pp. 99-100, 141-143; Rheta Childe Dorr, "What's Wrong with the Public Schools?" October 1908, pp. 551-553; and Rheta Childe Dorr, "Impractical Courses of Study," pp. 770-772, 862-863.

[74] Parents were urged, however, to join local school improvement leagues. If they did not exist in individual communities, the readers should organize them, the Delineator editor urged. "Join a School Improvement League," Delineator, April 1909, p. 556.

[75] "The Child-Rescue League," Delineator, January 1909, p. 102; R.R. Reeder, "The Dangers of Institutional Life," Delineator, January 1910, pp. 45, 77. The Delineator operationalized its desire to close down orphanages by regularly running a column on orphans available for adoption. According to the published reports, the Delineator was quite successful in this campaign. See, for example, "The Delineator Child-Rescue Campaign," Delineator, January 1908. This adoption matching service began in the November 1907 issue. In a related campaign, the magazine noted mothers were often ignorant in child rearing so the magazine organized conferences throughout the nation to educate mothers. See, for example, Edith Howe, "The Delineator's Mothers' Conference," June 1909, p. 783.

---

[76] The first part of the series, from October 1911 to January 1912, ran under the general title of "With All My Worldly Goods." In February 1912, Hard began including the problems associated with the legal rights of mothers to their children in cases of divorce. See William Hard, "'With All My Worldly Goods," Delineator, October 1911, pp. 217-218, 323; November 1912, pp. 323-324; December 1911, pp. 432-433, 502, 504; January 1912, pp. 19-20. William Hard, "When the Law Calls the Children 'His' Not 'Hers'," Delineator, February 1912, pp. 99-100.

[77] William Hard, "At Last--A Programme: A Law to Make the Children 'Theirs,'", Delineator, March 1912, p. 188; "Fathers Who Let Their Children Starve," September 1912, pp. 143-144; "Will Texas Do Better By Its Married Women?" November 1912, pp. 317-318, 385-386.

[78] See, for example, "Our Declaration of Principles," Delineator, March 1912, p. 188.

[79] William Hard, "Real Work Begins to Secure Better Laws for the Home," Delineator, April 1912, p. 287. Italics are in the original text.

[80] William Hard, "Look at Tennessee," Delineator, December 1912, pp. 433-434, 493. Italics in the original.

[81] Brunson Clarke, "Pastimes of the Well-known Millionaires," McCall's, August 1905, pp. 932-934; "How to Bow," April 1903, p. 586; and "The Business Woman's Sensible Advice for the Girl Who Has to Earn Her Own Living," October 1905, p. 110.

[82] Mrs. Oliver Bell Bunce, "The Story of th Little Mothers," McCall's, December 1905, pp. 318-319.

[83] McCall's sold for 50 cents a year; the rest of the publications sold for $1 per year.

[84] McCall Publishing Co. had been sold at a sheriff's auction in 1893. Under the new ownership, the magazine's focus shifted slightly. Additional features were addedto the fashion and pattern editorial mix. Barbara Nourie, "McCall's," in Alan Nourie and Barbara Nourie (eds.), American Mass-Market Magazines, Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990, pp. 238-239.

CS

Historical Perspective in Magazine Design: The Need to Go Forward into the Past in a Technological Age

Carol E. Holstead
Assistant Professor
School of Journalism
200 Stauffer-Flint Hall
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66045-2350

Abstract

Historical Perspective: The Need to Go Forward into the Past in a Technological Age

This paper examines the value of historical perspective in magazine design and its seeming disappearance from contemporary magazines. Art directors who worked during magazine design's "Golden Age," which lasted from about 1945 through 1968, argue that magazine design today has succumbed to such contemporary distractions as intense competition, bottom line concerns and computer technology. Technology, critics say, is largely to blame for the decline in design standards in current magazines: It too easily facilitates excess and, because computers often are treated as a new kind of artistic medium, it discourages historical perspective. Historical and contemporary examples of magazine design are included in the paper (slides will be used if the paper is selected for presentation). The paper proposes that collections of magazines with proven historical value need to be developed to encourage a revival of good quality design. Such collections could provide designers and students with points of reference that would enable them to forge higher standards from both the present and past.

Historical Perspective in Magazine Design: The Need to Go Forward into the Past in a Technological Age

We live in an age when technology is propelling us forward, when concerns at magazines center on the bottom line, on making it in a dense competitive market that struggles under the stress of declining ad revenues and readership. These contemporary distractions have trapped many magazines in the present, into imitation instead of innovation. The tendency is for magazines to look at what's out there now and, in the words of design consultant Estelle Ellis, try to "spin faster and faster to get noticed."[1]

This modern imperative to "spin" affects magazine editorial, but more so, magazine design. Jim Mann says that design, which he defines as part of overall appearance, is one of four central elements that contribute to a magazine's tone of voice. (The others are verbal style, manner of operating and attitude.)[2] Among these four, design is the most readily apparent means by which a magazine expresses its personality; it's the thing readers see first when browsing a newsstand.

Much of what readers see these days in magazine design looks a lot alike, particularly within classifications (ie.women's, men's, music, environmental)., And in striving to be the same in their design, many magazines have sacrificed quality. Perhaps the clearest assessment of the current state of magazine design is expressed in William Owen's book, *Modern Magazine Design.* " . . .Much of contemporary magazine design has been disparaged for its lack of a comparable simplicity and intensity, for its absence of wit, for its fussiness, for being alternatively unadventurous, undramatic or overwrought, and divorced from the great design tradition established in the mid-century. . . .[3]

A veritable who's who of graphic designers, people who came to the fore after World War II during magazine's design "Golden Age," which lasted from around 1945 to 1968[4], echo Owen's viewpoint. Milton Glaser, who helped found Push Pin Studios in 1955, a design firm that advocated a radical departure from the strict forms of Swiss Design[5], recently said of contemporary design: " . . . The devaluation of the imagination will become more obvious as pedestrian professional work continues to be the hallmark of the practice."[6]

Henry Wolf, former art director at *Esquire, Harper's Bazaar* and *Show* magazines, agrees: "The fact is, in the last ten years there's been less intelligent design, less humor, less of all the human qualities, in magazine design. Intelligence and humor have caved into something that does it cheaper and faster."[7]

What are the causes for the so-called decline in magazine design? Critics of contemporary magazine design would argue that the primary culprit is a loss of historical perspective. Competitors instead of predecessors influence the design of many of today's magazines. This is happening for two key reasons. One is that there are no solid collections of magazines to which designers can turn for inspiration. The other is that many designers perceive computers as a new kind of artistic medium, much like paint, and since there is no historical reference for this medium, designers are working in uncharted territory. The result is that many magazines have become laboratories for experimental design, much of which is failing long-held standards of design excellence.

". . . Today, in all the arts, we have reached a moment of dissolution and uncertainty," writes Owen. "There is not dominant philosophy of design, and, if we take magazine design as our paradigm, a characteristically fragmented selection of pragmatic, revivalist, expressionistic, neo-modernist, unstructured and deconstructed approaches emerges. . . . There is a discernable shift from rational to sensual cognition, an apparent will to test the bounds of perception with a more complex array of words, images, signs and symbols which attack the instinctive rather than the logical mind."[8]

The fact that the computer is a relative newcomer on the magazine design scene is perhaps one reason for the random quality that exists in magazine design today. Although digital composition has been commonplace in newspaper offices since the late 1970s and some systems were put to use at a few magazines early in the 1980s, it was not until the arrival of the Apple Macintosh with suitable software, in about 1987, that computerized design came into its own.[9]

Computers certainly have influenced a lot of what design's old guard now criticizes. The computer, says Wolf, is a seductive piece of equipment that too easily facilitates excess.[10] Layered text, complex and irregular grids, rotation and scaling of type, the use of textured backgrounds, graduated tones and abundant use of spot colors: All are present in many of today's magazines. These techniques, some of which were impossible with photocomposition, often create communication problems for readers and detract from a story's message.

Says Wolf: "In my world the idea was to communicate with clarity, to dramatize your point. I think what the computer does is obfuscate the point, make it more difficult, more layered, instead of bringing out the thing that clarifies it. The computer adds. For us, it was always to subtract. Now the computer thinks it's better to wear long underwear on top of your other things. It's more important to show good legs, even if you're cold."[11]

Indeed, Owen says that the use of the computer already has given rise to a "new aesthetic" in magazine design.[12] But, he adds, much of the excess apparent in many computer-designed magazines may stem from "the overexuberance typical of anyone who has been given a new toy. Those stylized aspects of the 'new aesthetic' which exist for their own sake, because they can be achieved only with digital composition yet have no useful function, will tend to atrophy away. Those that have purpose will endure."[13]

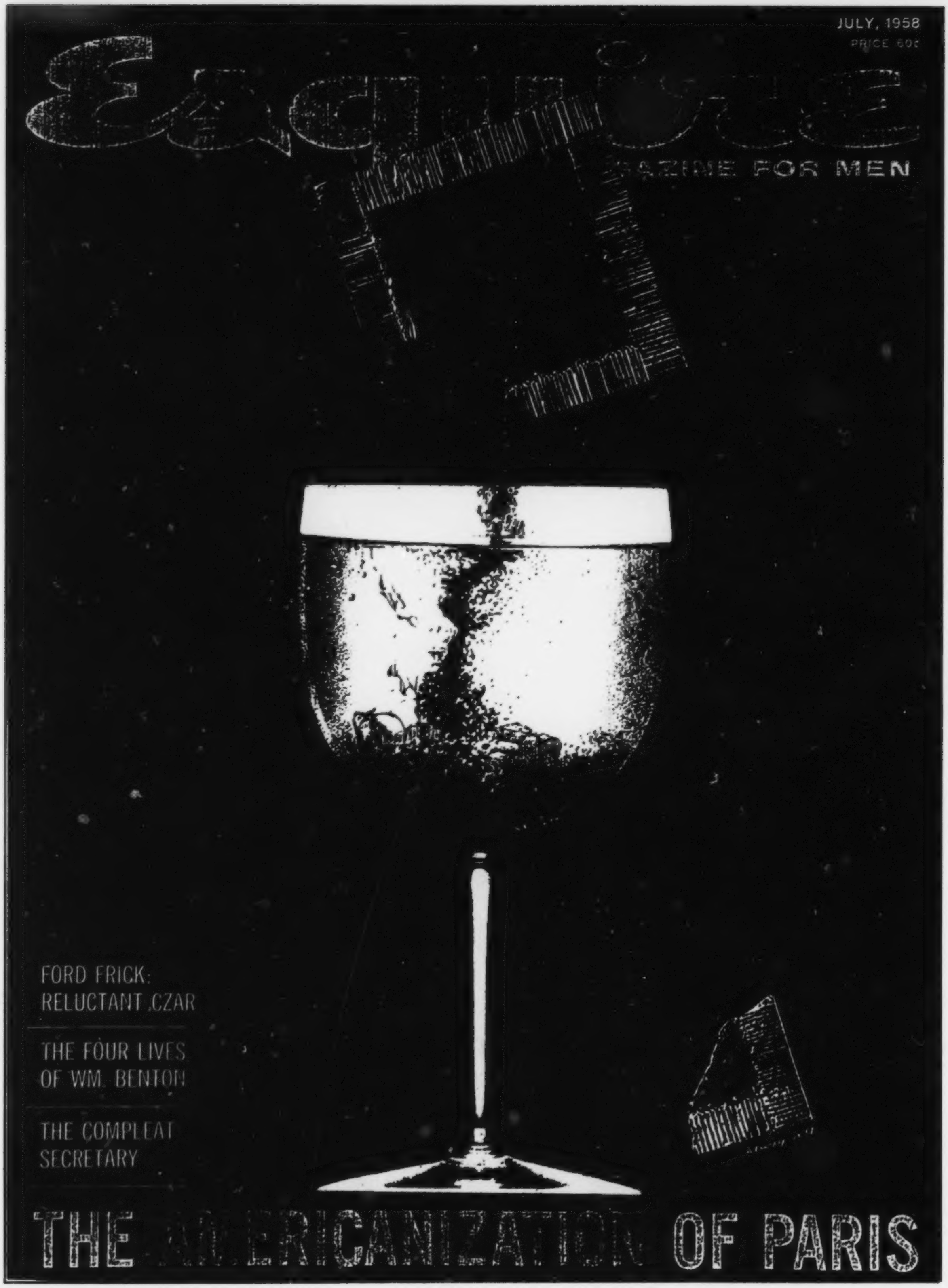
Even if the uglier aspects of computer design fade into oblivion, that will only solve part of the computer problem. As Henry Wolf sees it, an equally troubling aspect of computer design is that it makes it too easy for designers to isolate themselves from outside influences: It limits interaction with other people who can inspire ideas and it devalues historical perspective.

"Designing with the computer is like masturbating with a centerfold in *Penthouse* instead of making love to a woman. It's true. The computer doesn't give back anything. For example, the computer doesn't say 'this looks like something Lassitsky did in 1920.' The computer doesn't have that memory, but a person does. A computer doesn't have that kind of intelligence. If you program it, it'll show you fifty Lassitskys, but it still can't offer any point of reference. The computer makes people lonely voyeurs, watching their screens."[14]

Wolf may be overstating the point, but it's valid nevertheless. Design in many contemporary magazines shows little evidence of historical influences, certainly not to the obvious extent that magazines of the middle part of this century did. And nowhere are historical influences more obvious than in the magazines Wolf served as art director: *Esquire* (1952 to 1958), *Harper's Bazaar* (1958 to 1961), and *Show* (1961 to 1964).[15]

Surrealism, the juxtaposing of unexpected elements within a piece of art, inhabits much of Wolf's work. Surrealism flowered and faded quickly after World War I, but it had a lasting effect on mass communication, advertising, illustration and poster design. "No other movement in art was ever so quickly adopted and adapted to a related but ideologically different discipline," says Wolf in his book *Visual Thinking: Methods for Making Images Memorable.*[16]

Examples of Wolf's surrealistic approach to design are evident on many of his magazine covers. To illustrate a story on "The Americanization of Paris" on the July 1958 cover of *Esquire,* Wolf created a photograph depicting a package of instant wine being poured into a wine glass filled with water (Figure 1). The image, Wolf writes in *Visual Thinking,* "combined France's passion for red wine with the U.S.A.'s predilection for fast (or 'instant') food."[17]



JULY, 1958
PRICE 60¢
Esquire
MAGAZINE FOR MEN
FORD FRICK:
RELUCTANT CZAR
THE FOUR LIVES
OF WM. BENTON
THE COMPLEAT
SECRETARY
THE AMERICANIZATION OF PARIS

Figure 1. Cover from *Esquire* magazine, July 1958. Henry Wolf, art director.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

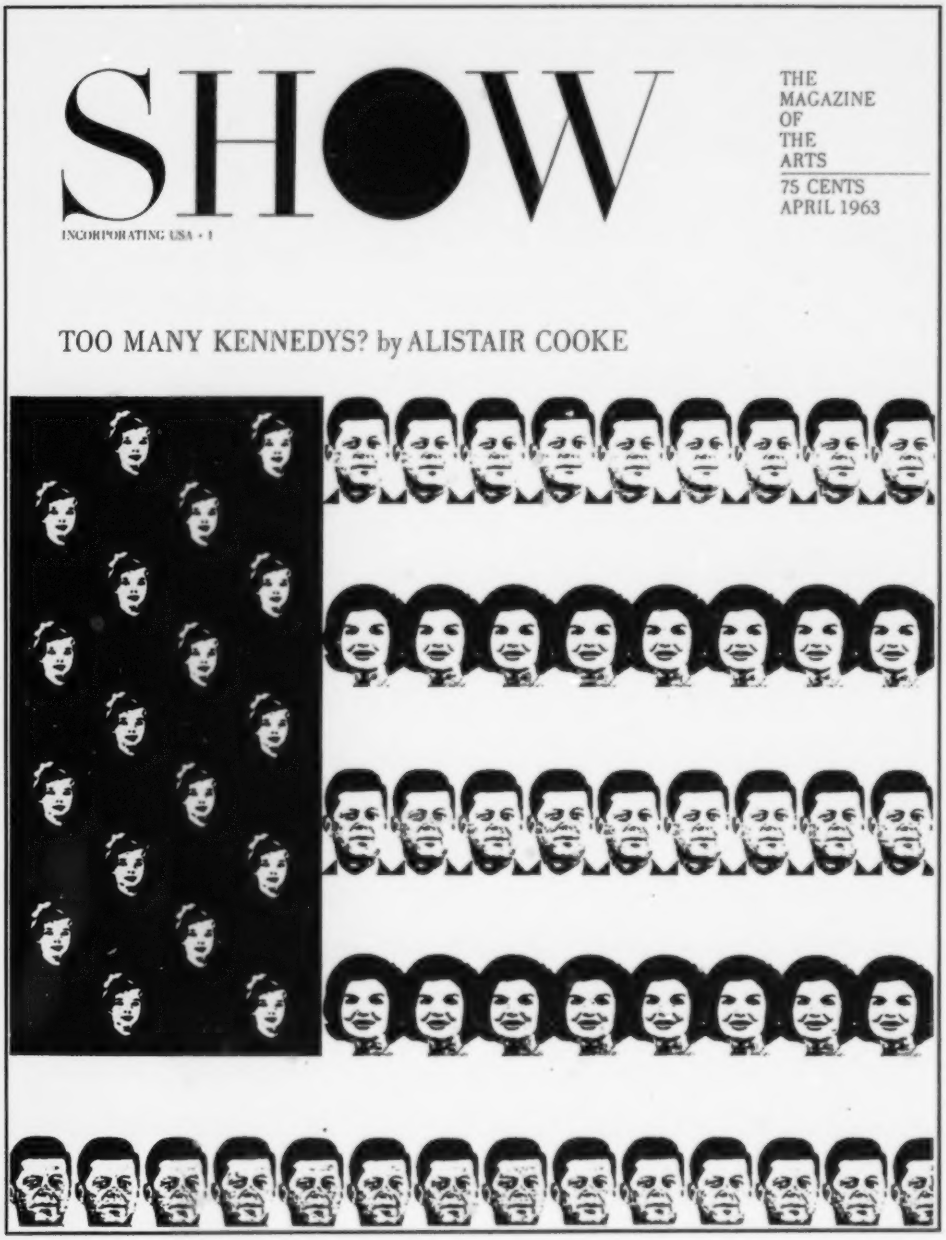
On a March 1958 *Harper's Bazaar* cover, Wolf's penchant for surrealism surfaces again in a photo taken by Ben Rose of a woman's eye peering from between a parted "curtain" of women's suede gloves.[18] And in a December 1964 cover of *Show* magazine, a red Christmas tree ball is shown being launched into the air like a rocket.[19]

Along with surrealism, pop art, with its emphasis on repetition, also colored Wolf's design, although not to the extent of surrealism. He used the pop art technique, so deftly employed in Andy Warhol's paintings of Campbell's Soup cans and green Coca-Cola bottles, on an April 1963 *Show* cover to illustrate a story called "Too Many Kennedys?" The illustration featured an American flag with repeated photos of Ted and Jackie Kennedy printed in red to create the flag's stripes, and repeated photos of Caroline Kennedy reversed out of a blue background to represent the stars (Figure 2).[20]

All of these images work in part because they are rooted in successful historical tradition. They are at once new and familiar, which gives them a kind of timelessness. Indeed, any of these covers would succeed as well today as it did forty years ago.

Wolf wasn't the only designer working in the middle of this century to anchor magazine design to historical points of reference. The boldly colorful and geometric designs of Push Pin studios recollected the bright colors of the Fauvists. Bradbury Thompson's geometic, patterned layouts in *Mademoiselle* in the 1950s reflected the compositional clarity of Mondrian's abstract paintings of the 1920s. Thompson's earlier work at Westvaco *Inspirations* and Otto Storch's designs at *McCall's* were rooted in the Constructivist approach to free-form type styling and photomontage. And Cipe Pineles' covers and interior designs at both *Glamour* and *Junior Bazaar* in the 1940s feature the bold and imaginative forms and primary colors of the De Stijl movement.[21]

While Wolf and his contemporaries found much to inspire their design in modern art, they were equally influenced by the work and teaching of several ground-breaking designers, primarily Dr. Mehemed Fehmy Agha and Alexey Brodovitch.



SHOW

INCORPORATING USA • 1

THE
MAGAZINE
OF
THE
ARTS

75 CENTS
APRIL 1963

TOO MANY KENNEDYS? by ALISTAIR COOKE

Figure 2. Cover from *Show* magazine, April 1963. Henry Wolf, art director.

Agha came to New York from Paris in 1928 after Conde Nast hired him to serve as art director of its flagship magazines. Nast selected him because of his "sense of order, taste and invention," all of which he applied to the designs of *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. "Typography was simplified and systemitized . . . . Photography was given preference over illustration, and used large. And Agha quickly stripped all extraneous components from the layout: out went column rules, side bars and any kind of decorative border; margins and gutters were widened.

"Most importantly, he understood the synergy of design and editorial matter, striving to achieve a tight relationship between words and pictures, and excelling in the simple picture story comprised of punning headline, photographic sequence and short captions."[22]

Brodovitch emigrated to the United States in 1930. He had spent the previous decade in Paris after fleeing Russia at the end of World War I. In the United States, Brodovitch began a phase of his career "that was to have a far-reaching effect on the shaping of American graphic design."[23] In 1934, Brodovitch became art director of *Harper's Bazaar,* where he remained for 24 years. Frank Zachary, who co-edited the experimental *Portfolio* magazine with Brodovitch from 1949-1951, describes him as "the master designer": "In many ways he created the look of the contemporary magazine."[24]

The Brodovitch approach to design included a broad repertoire of graphic devices: repetition; reflection; diagonal and horizontal stress; juxtaposing of animate and inanimate forms; tricks of perception; contrasts of scale, color and type. He also pioneered the use of the photographic spread. He encouraged his photographers, including Richard Avedon and Irving Penn, both of whom trained at Brodovitch's knee, to design the page in the lens, to use props and movement to create force and balance, and to use plain backgrounds so the designer could bleed the picture across the entire page: Text could then be printed on the photo to create a seamless connection between type and image.[25]

Many of what became known as the New York School passed through Agha's and Brodovitch's hands on their way to illustrious careers. At Conde Nast, Cipe Pineles, William Golden and Francis Brennan served their apprenticeships under Agha.[26] And Brodovitch trained numerous prominent photographers and graphic designers, many of whom attended his design workshops in Philadelphia and New York. Besides Avedon and Penn, the list includes photographers Art Kane and Howard Zieff, as well as graphic designers, Henry Wolf, Otto Storch and Lillian Bassman, who worked alongside Brodovitch as art director of the short-lived off-shoot of *Harper's Bazaar, Junior Bazaar.*[27]

This family tree, which came to include even the proteges of Ahga's and Brodovitch's proteges, created a continuity in design that lasted through the 1960s, when the magazine industry was hard hit by economic hard times. Common features were precisely shaped type; repetition, reflection and contrast of scale to produce linear layouts; and the bonding of type and image through carefully designed full-bleed photographs.[28]

The teachers and art movements that so clearly inspired the designers working in the 1950s and 1960s are sorely missing in today's magazines. Whether the causes are rooted in new technology or lack of historical perspective or both, the result is the same: magazines designed on the belief that to win readers they have to scream louder than their competitors. As a result, they seem to have lost sight of an important objective of magazine design, which is to communicate clearly and to set standards of style and quality for readers.

Graphic designer Allen Hurlburt, who served as art director for *Look* from 1952 to 1968 and later became coordinator of curriculum at the Parson's School of Design[29], says that modern design, and the values associated with it, is most clearly defined in some of its cliches—"the dictate of Louis Sullivan that 'form follows function' and the later expression, identified with Mies van der Rohe, the last director of the Bauhaus, that 'less is more.'"[30]

If less is indeed more, then many contemporary magazine designers don't seem to get it. The tendency to "spin" to get attention is most apparent in women's magazines; a sampling of April and May issues of women's magazines bears this out.

• The April 5, 1994, cover of *Woman's Day* featured ten sell lines printed in or on top of six spot colors over a photo of a brightly decorated cake. Two smaller photos also were morticed on top of the photo.

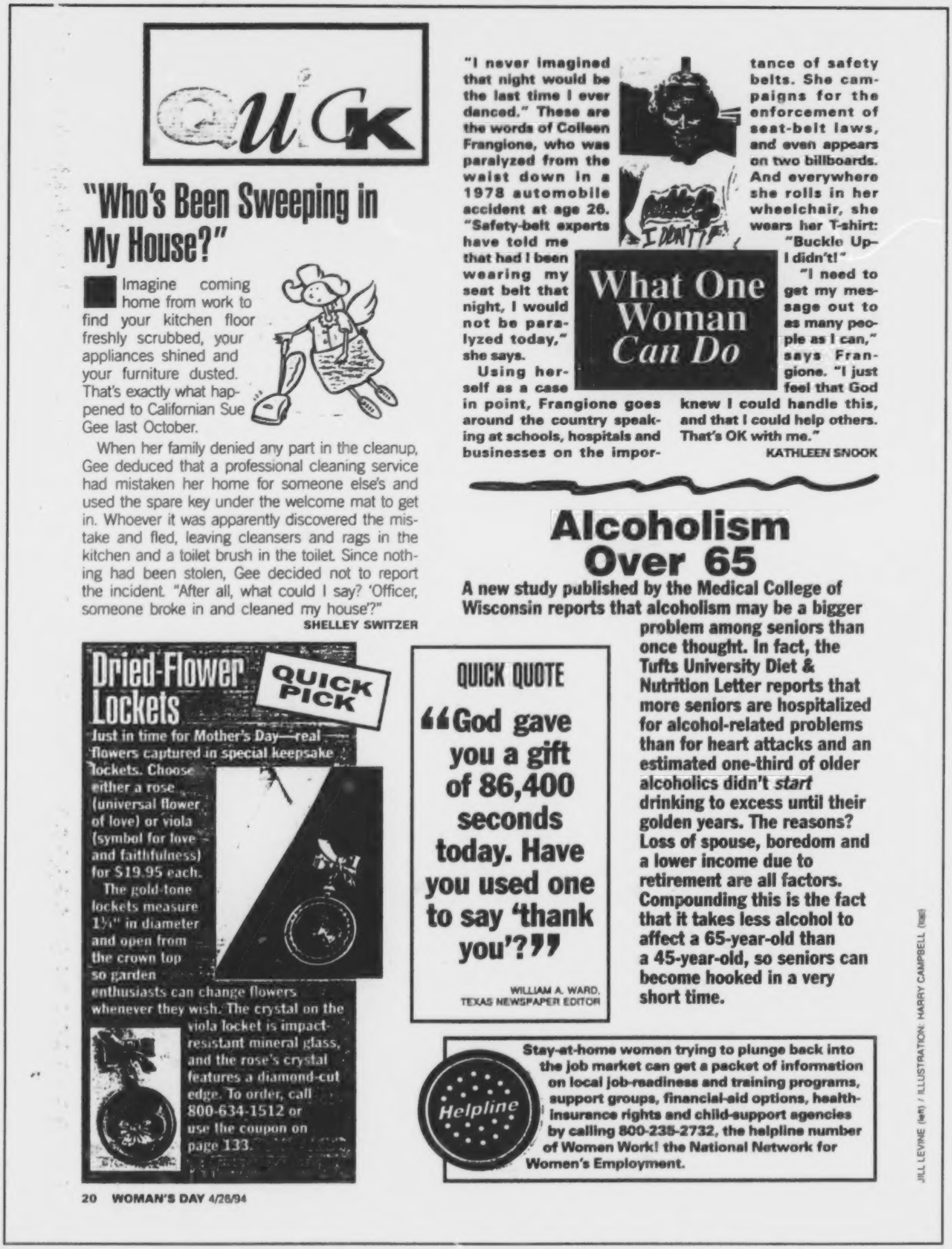
•The April 5, 1994, cover of *Family Circle* had nine sell lines printed in six spot colors on top of a bleed photo of an Easter Bunny in a basket.

•The April 1994 issue of *First For Women* ran seven sell lines in four spot colors over a picture of Gloria Estefan.

•The April 1994 cover of *McCall's* featured seven sell lines printed in four spot colors over a photograph of Roseanne Arnold.

•The April 1994 issue of *Complete Woman* had nine sell lines printed in three spot colors on top of a photo of Deidre Hall.

This "more is better" approach isn't just confined to magazine covers, but extends to the inside pages as well. The typical department design in many women's magazines combines numerous typefaces and spot colors with irregularly cut photos laid out at raked angles. Such is the case in both *Family Circle* and *Woman's Day.* For example, in the April 26, 1994, issue of *Woman's Day,* nearly every department featured at least three spot colors used for type and as background tints. One department, "Quick," had a logo printed in five spot colors, a jagged border printed in green along the outer edge of the page, and four short stories each printed in a different weight of type, with headlines either printed in a spot color or reversed out of one (Figure 3).[31] Granted, the design maintains legibility and the short stories are clearly separated, but the busy look of the page is mind-numbing nevertheless. *Family Circle's* designs produce the same effect. Both departments and features make use four or five spot colors per page, as well as cut-out



"Who's Been Sweeping in My House?"

Imagine coming home from work to find your kitchen floor freshly scrubbed, your appliances shined and your furniture dusted. That's exactly what happened to Californian Sue Gee last October.

When her family denied any part in the cleanup, Gee deduced that a professional cleaning service had mistaken her home for someone else's and used the spare key under the welcome mat to get in. Whoever it was apparently discovered the mistake and fled, leaving cleansers and rags in the kitchen and a toilet brush in the toilet. Since nothing had been stolen, Gee decided not to report the incident. "After all, what could I say? 'Officer, someone broke in and cleaned my house'?"

SHELLEY SWITZER

Dried-Flower Lockets

QUICK PICK

Just in time for Mother's Day—real flowers captured in special keepsake lockets. Choose either a rose (universal flower of love) or viola (symbol for love and faithfulness) for $19.95 each.

The gold-tone lockets measure 1¼" in diameter and open from the crown top so garden enthusiasts can change flowers whenever they wish. The crystal on the viola locket is impact-resistant mineral glass, and the rose's crystal features a diamond-cut edge. To order, call 800-634-1512 or use the coupon on page 133.

What One Woman Can Do

"I never imagined that night would be the last time I ever danced." These are the words of Colleen Frangione, who was paralyzed from the waist down in a 1978 automobile accident at age 26. "Safety-belt experts have told me that had I been wearing my seat belt that night, I would not be paralyzed today," she says.

Using herself as a case in point, Frangione goes around the country speaking at schools, hospitals and businesses on the importance of safety belts. She campaigns for the enforcement of seat-belt laws, and even appears on two billboards. And everywhere she rolls in her wheelchair, she wears her T-shirt: "Buckle Up—I didn't!"

"I need to get my message out to as many people as I can," says Frangione. "I just feel that God knew I could handle this, and that I could help others. That's OK with me."

KATHLEEN SNOOK

Alcoholism Over 65

A new study published by the Medical College of Wisconsin reports that alcoholism may be a bigger problem among seniors than once thought. In fact, the Tufts University Diet & Nutrition Letter reports that more seniors are hospitalized for alcohol-related problems than for heart attacks and an estimated one-third of older alcoholics didn't *start* drinking to excess until their golden years. The reasons? Loss of spouse, boredom and a lower income due to retirement are all factors. Compounding this is the fact that it takes less alcohol to affect a 65-year-old than a 45-year-old, so seniors can become hooked in a very short time.

QUICK QUOTE

"God gave you a gift of 86,400 seconds today. Have you used one to say 'thank you'?"

WILLIAM A. WARD,
TEXAS NEWSPAPER EDITOR

Helpline

Stay-at-home women trying to plunge back into the job market can get a packet of information on local job-readiness and training programs, support groups, financial-aid options, health-insurance rights and child-support agencies by calling 800-235-2732, the helpline number of Women Work! the National Network for Women's Employment.

JILL LEVINE (left) / ILLUSTRATION: HARRY CAMPBELL ([illegible])

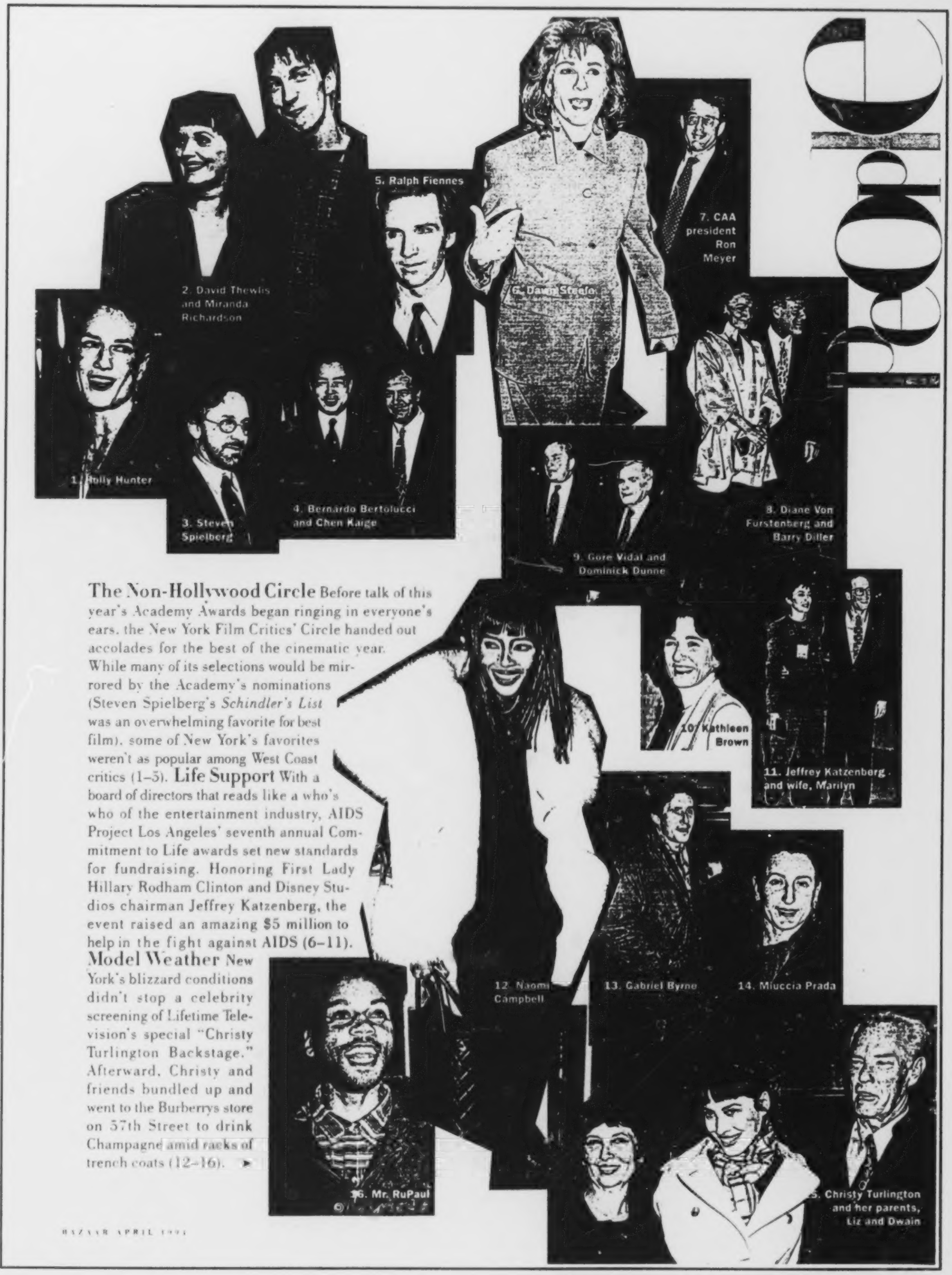
Figure 3. A department design from *Woman's Day,* April 26, 1994, page 20.

photos and decorative borders. Side by side placement of ads and editorial pages, even in features, only exacerbates the problem for the reader: it's often difficult to tell the difference between editorial and advertising.

The designs of woman's fashion magazines follow similar lines, although with a greater sense of style perhaps than magazines like *Family Circle* and *Woman's Day.* The self-promoted anti-fashion magazine *Allure,* seems out to define busyness in its eclectic design. In the March 1994 issue, the departmental spread for "Reporter," a collection of short pieces, had headlines printed five spot colors, five typefaces, as well as four photos.[32] The design may be Pop Art in its origins, but the result creates communication obstacles for readers. *Self* magazine also appears seduced by spot colors; although it uses a more formal grid than *Allure,* its department designs typically feature cut-out background colors—as many as four per page in the March 1994 issue—printed behind type.

Even the more refined fashion magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* seem unable to resist the lure of imitation. When *Bazaar* was redesigned in February 1993, it revived the Didot type (a modern roman with extreme contrast in thick and thin stokes) used by Brodvitch and Wolf in the magazine during their tenure there, but the type often is printed in spot colors and negatively leaded, which makes it nearly illegible on some pages. While most departments are designed on a clean two-column grid with minimal art, in several departments, including "People," "First Look" and "Beauty," *Bazaar's* designers have succumbed to their competitors' predilection for overlapping photos that are cut and laid out at oblique angles. Such was the case on a "People" page the April 1994 issue; it had seventeen photos, all of which overlapped. Four of them were loosely cut out around the people pictured (Figure 4).[33]

This penchant toward imitation is evident in other categories of magazines as well, and the alternative music magazines provide another, although far different, example. Here the trend is toward provocative use of type, photo montage and disordered layouts. To their credit, magazines


People
1. Holly Hunter
2. David Thewlis and Miranda Richardson
3. Steven Spielberg
4. Bernardo Bertolucci and Chen Kaige
5. Ralph Fiennes
6. Dawn Steele
7. CAA president Ron Meyer
8. Diane Von Furstenberg and Barry Diller
9. Gore Vidal and Dominick Dunne
10. Kathleen Brown
11. Jeffrey Katzenberg and wife, Marilyn
12. Naomi Campbell
13. Gabriel Byrne
14. Miuccia Prada
15. Christy Turlington and her parents, Liz and Dwain
16. Mr. RuPaul
BAZAAR APRIL 1994

The Non-Hollywood Circle Before talk of this year's Academy Awards began ringing in everyone's ears, the New York Film Critics' Circle handed out accolades for the best of the cinematic year. While many of its selections would be mirrored by the Academy's nominations (Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* was an overwhelming favorite for best film), some of New York's favorites weren't as popular among West Coast critics (1–5). **Life Support** With a board of directors that reads like a who's who of the entertainment industry, AIDS Project Los Angeles' seventh annual Commitment to Life awards set new standards for fundraising. Honoring First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Disney Studios chairman Jeffrey Katzenberg, the event raised an amazing $5 million to help in the fight against AIDS (6–11). **Model Weather** New York's blizzard conditions didn't stop a celebrity screening of Lifetime Television's special "Christy Turlington Backstage." Afterward, Christy and friends bundled up and went to the Burberrys store on 57th Street to drink Champagne amid racks of trench coats (12–16). ►

Figure 4. A department design from *Harper's Bazaar*, April 1994, page 47.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

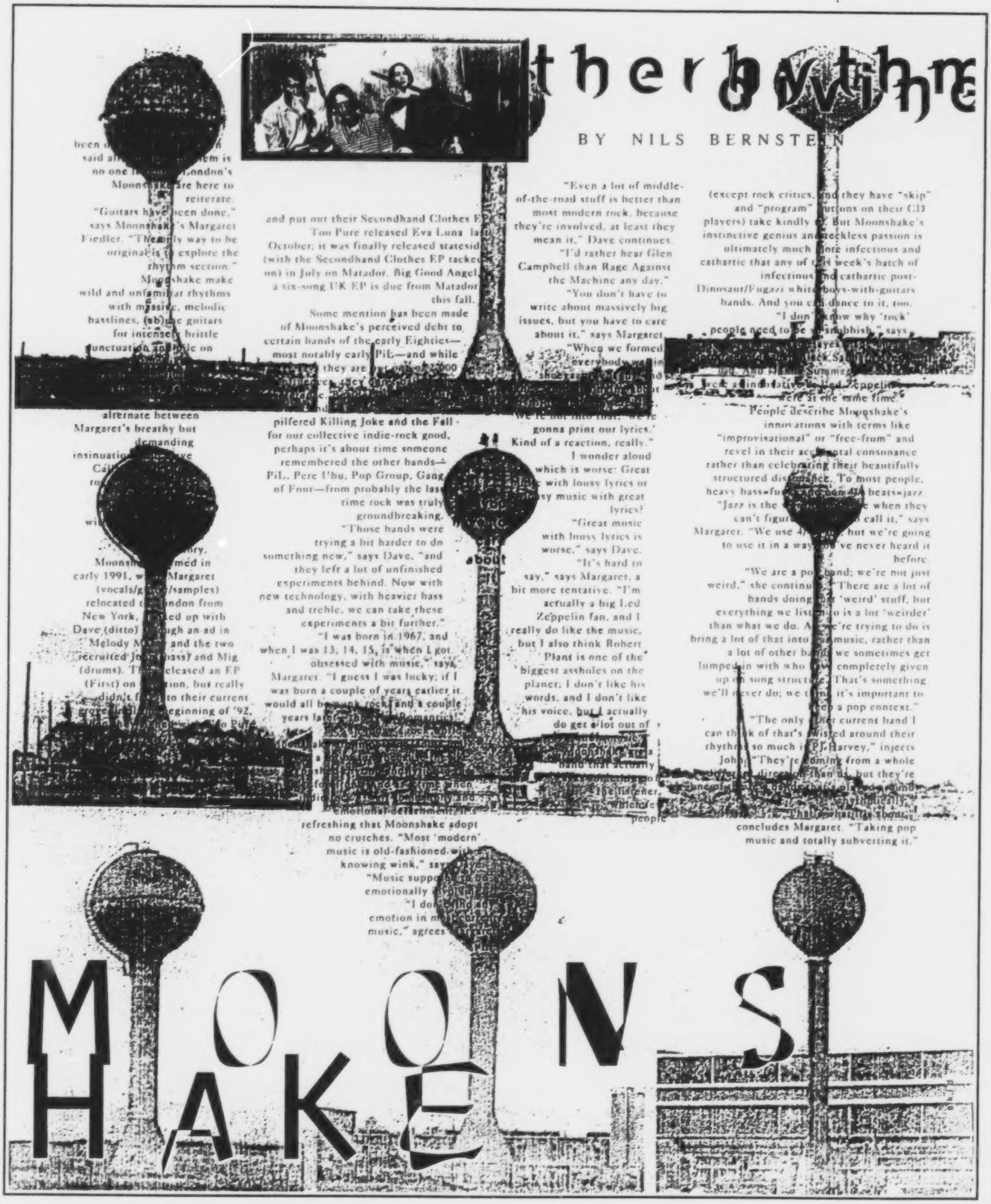
such as *Spin, Zone, Vibe, Ray Gun* and *Bikini* are pushing the experimental design envelope. And unlike other magazines, music magazines also are looking back for inspiration, predominantly to the Dadaists, who were appropriately anarchic in their approach to design. Hurlburt says that Dada influenced graphic designers in two important areas: "It helped to free typography from its rectilinear restrictions, and it reinforced the Cubist idea of letterforms as a visual experience."[34]

But while music magazines often succeed in shock value and dramatic effect, the newness of their design tends to get lost in the shuffle to look like each other. Readability and legibilty also are often sacrificed in these magazines' use of free-form typography, especially negatively leaded type printed over full-page photographs.

Ray Gun and *Zone* magazines both offer a case in point. *Ray Gun* burst on the music and art scene in November 1992 as a "state of the art fanzine."[35] Its startling, confrontational design reflects art director David Carson's preference for Dada typeforms and customized typefaces, as well as bold, surreal graphics, which he put to use on *Beach Culture* and *Transworld Skateboarding* in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

But where Carson used to employ these techniques legibly, in *Ray Gun* he seems to have abandoned the reader altogether. Titles set in computer-generated, negatively leaded fonts are printed directly over text type that has been surprinted over a full-bleed photograph. Text type is printed nine point or smaller, and columns frequently have neither justified left or right sides, but are arbitrarily shaped (Figure 5). Sorting out the design, just trying to read the titles, takes considerable effort. Perhaps that's part of the point: breast-fed on video games, *Ray Gun's* younger readers may need the visual challenge the magazine offers to stimulate them. But with a target audience that ranges in age from eighteen to thirty, it also may alienate potential readers who prefer more conventional layouts.[36]

Where *Ray Gun* treads other magazines attempt to follow, but not to the same maddening extent. *Zone* magazine, which also focuses on music and culture, exhibits *Ray Gun's* preference


therhythm
MOONSHAKE

BY NILS BERNSTEIN

been [illegible] said al[illegible]em is no one [illegible]ondon's Moonshake are here to reiterate.

"Guitars have been done," says Moonshake's Margaret Fiedler. "The only way to be original is to explore the rhythm section."

Moonshake make wild and unfamiliar rhythms with massive, melodic basslines, (ab)use guitars for intensely brittle punctuation an[illegible] on [illegible] alternate between Margaret's breathy but demanding insinuation[illegible] [illegible] wi[illegible] [illegible]ory.

Moonsh[illegible]rmed in early 1991, w[illegible] Margaret (vocals/g[illegible]/samples) relocated t[illegible]ondon from New York, [illegible]ed up with Dave (ditto) [illegible]gh an ad in Melody M[illegible] and the two recruited J[illegible] (bass) and Mig (drums). Th[illegible]eleased an EP (First) on [illegible]tion, but really didn't f[illegible] to their current [illegible] beginning of '92, [illegible] Pure and put out their Secondhand Clothes E[illegible] Too Pure released Eva Luna la[illegible] October; it was finally released statesid[illegible] (with the Secondhand Clothes EP tacke[illegible] on) in July on Matador. Big Good Angel, a six-song UK EP is due from Matador this fall.

Some mention has been made of Moonshake's perceived debt to certain bands of the early Eighties—most notably early PiL—and while [illegible] they are [illegible] [illegible] pilfered Killing Joke and the Fall for our collective indie-rock good, perhaps it's about time someone remembered the other bands—PiL, Pere Ubu, Pop Group, Gang of Four—from probably the las[illegible] time rock was truly groundbreaking.

"Those bands were trying a bit harder to do something new," says Dave, "and they left a lot of unfinished experiments behind. Now with new technology, with heavier bass and treble, we can take these experiments a bit further."

"I was born in 1967, and when I was 13, 14, 15, is when I got obsessed with music," says Margaret. "I guess I was lucky; if I was born a couple of years earlier it would all be [illegible] rock and a couple years la[illegible] Romantics!" [illegible] emotional detachment, it's refreshing that Moonshake adopt no crutches. "Most 'modern' music is old-fashioned with [illegible] knowing wink," say[illegible] "Music suppo[illegible] emotionally [illegible] "I do[illegible] emotion in m[illegible] music," agrees [illegible]

"Even a lot of middle-of-the-road stuff is better than most modern rock, because they're involved, at least they mean it," Dave continues. "I'd rather hear Glen Campbell than Rage Against the Machine any day."

"You don't have to write about massively big issues, but you have to care about it," says Margaret. "When we formed [illegible] everybody [illegible] [illegible] we're not into that: we're gonna print our lyrics.' Kind of a reaction, really."

I wonder aloud which is worse: Great [illegible] with lousy lyrics or [illegible]sy music with great lyrics?

"Great music with lousy lyrics is worse," says Dave.

"It's hard to say," says Margaret, a bit more tentative. "I'm actually a big Led Zeppelin fan, and I really do like the music, but I also think Robert Plant is one of the biggest assholes on the planet; I don't like his words, and I don't like his voice, but I actually do get a lot out of [illegible] Moonshake [illegible] band that actually [illegible] the listener, which [illegible] people (except rock critics, and they have "skip" and "program" buttons on their CD players) take kindly [illegible]. But Moonshake's instinctive genius and reckless passion is ultimately much more infectious and cathartic that any of this week's batch of infectious and cathartic post-Dinosaur/Fugazi white-boys-with-guitars bands. And you can dance to it, too.

"I don't know why 'rock' people need to be so snobbish," says [illegible] Summer [illegible] were as innovative as Led Zeppelin were at the same time."

People describe Moonshake's innovations with terms like "improvisational" or "free-from" and revel in their accidental consonance rather than celebrating their beautifully structured dissonance. To most people, heavy bass=fu[illegible] 4/4 beats=jazz. "Jazz is the [illegible] when they can't figur[illegible] call it," says Margaret. "We use 4/[illegible] but we're going to use it in a way you've never heard it before.

"We are a pop band; we're not just weird," she continu[illegible] "There are a lot of bands doing [illegible] 'weird' stuff, but everything we list[illegible] to is a lot 'weirder' than what we do. A[illegible] we're trying to do is bring a lot of that into [illegible] music, rather than a lot of other ba[illegible] we sometimes get lumped in with who [illegible] completely given up on song struct[illegible]. That's something we'll never do; we th[illegible] it's important to [illegible] a pop context."

"The only [illegible] current band I can th[illegible]k of that's twisted around their rhythm[illegible] so much is PJ Harvey," injects John. "They're coming from a whole [illegible] direction than us, but they're [illegible] rhythmically [illegible] That's what it's about," concludes Margaret. "Taking pop music and totally subverting it."

Figure 5. A page design from *Ray Gun* magazine, October 1993, page 10.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

for irregular type columns, negatively leaded titles and photo montage, but manages to maintain readability in the process. *Spin* takes a similar but even more conventional approach to design; it looks like a hybrid between *Ray Gun* and *Rolling Stone,* which uses a conventional, geometric grid.

This trend in magazine design toward homogeneity naturally raises one central question: What difference does it make if it sells magazines? Designers might argue that they are only responding to what readers want, but who is following whom? By sinking to the lowest common denominator, magazines lower readers' expectations, and their own standards in the process. If magazines raised their standards and sought inspiration from sources other than their competitors, they might attract more readers. They certainly would give readers more inspired and memorable choices.

Perhaps the best place for contemporary magazine designers to turn for new ideas is old magazines. Says designer Estelle Ellis: "You can make a case that we are being driven by a desire for the most up-to-date zeitgeist, but eventually it all comes down to cliches. How do you know where you're going if you don't know where you came from? It's critical in the design field to have a feel for classicism. There's nothing more timely than the timelessness of classicism."[37]

Yet if designers are to derive inspiration from the past, they need resources, and herein lies a central problem: there's no place to look. Magazine collections that include the best historical examples of design don't exist, or if they do, it's nearly impossible to find them. The best index of collections, *Subject Collections: 7th Edition,* doesn't list a single magazine collection that features the work of Twentieth Century designers. It's not enough for designers to examine photographs of page layouts and covers that are presented in books on design; designers need the real article to get the best perspective. Only by studying full issues of magazines can designers get a sense of the continuity of a magazine's design and fully understand the impact that a magazine's size and format, as well as the paper it's printed on, have on its design.

Magazine collections need to be developed that can be used as teaching tools and as resources for working designers. However, the prospect is a daunting one that presents the collector with such challenges as figuring out what magazines to include, and even more problematic, how to acquire them. Any usable collection also has to be catalogued in a way that provides access to information pertinent to designers, and, for that matter, editors: issue date, key personnel, purpose, format, size and significance, for starters.

The School of Journalism at the University of Kansas has the potential to develop two such collections. The School is the repository for the Magazine Publishers of America First Issues collection, which includes about 3,200 issues, and the *Esquire* Collection, which contains about 40,000 pieces of original artwork that were featured in *Esquire* from 1933 to 1977. The *Esquire* Collection also includes a full run of magazines.

Unfortunately, these collections currently are inaccessible to all but the most diligent researchers. They are not publicized nor are they fully catalogued, in itself a formidable task. Furthermore the First Issues Collection is woefully incomplete: It contains an ephemeral selection of magazines, many of which have little historical value beyond being first issues. Efforts to broaden the collection will have to be addressed, but not until the existing collection is fully catalogued in a relational database, which could take as long as two years. The *Esquire* Collection, while complete, presents its own unique problems, mainly sorting and storing it. Since the late 1970s, the majority of the art pieces in the collection have been sitting in boxes stacked six deep in the attic of a campus building. The cost to properly catalogue and store the collection is estimated at more than $200,000.[38]

But despite the challenges that developing these collections presents, it's a job that needs doing, and not just at the University of Kansas. KU's First Issues Collection has already proved its value to the magazine faculty at the School of Journalism, who regularly use it in teaching magazine design. If other universities created similar collections, even if limited in scope, and incorporated them into their design classes, perhaps they would encourage a revival of high standards, standards that Estelle Ellis says can only result from merging the past with the present.

"Design on the basis of what you know and understand, but don't underestimate looking back to what was great in an earlier time. You have to drive with a rearview mirror. You have to design the same way."[39]

NOTES

[1] Estelle Ellis, Hallmark Lecture, University of Kansas, Lawrence, ? October 1993.

[2] Jim Mann, "Creating and Maintaining A Magazine's Tone of Voice," Media Management Monograph, No. 117 (March 1989): 10.

[3] William Owen, Modern Magazine Design (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1992), 6.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Amy Arntson, Graphic Design Basics: Second Edition (Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace Javonovich College Publishers, 1993), 29

[6] "Special Forecast," Graphic Design: USA, Issue ?, 32.

[7] Henry Wolf, interview by author, Lawrence, Kansas, 7 February 1994.

[8] Owen, 7.

[9] Ibid., 225.

[10] Wolf interview.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Owen, 228.

[13] Ibid., 229.

[14] Wolf interview.

[15] "Henry Wolf," Idea, September 1990, 20.

[16] Henry Wolf, Visual Thinking: Methods for Making Images Memorable (New York: American Showcase, Inc., 1988) 14.

[17] Ibid., 16.

[18] Ibid., 22.

[19] Show, First Issues Collection, University of Kansas, Lawrence, December 1964, cover.

[20] Owen, 75.

[21] Allen Hurlburt, Layout: The Design of the Printed Page (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, a division of Billboard Publications, 1977) 34.

[22] Owen, 48.

[23] Hurlburt, 30.

[24] Owen, 50.

[25] Ibid., 54.

[26] Ibid., 55.

[27] Hurlburt, 30.

[28] Owen, 70.

[29] Hurlburt, book jacket.

[30] Ibid., 44.

[31] "Quick," Woman's Day, 26 April 1994, 20.

[32] "Reporter," Allure, March 1994, 54.

[33] "People," Harper's Bazaar, April 1994, 47

[34] Hurlburt, 23.

[35] "The Story So Far . . .," Ray Gun, October 1993, 6.

[36] Rob Hill, phone interview by author, Lawrence, Kansas, 20 April 1994.

[37] Estelle Ellis, phone interview by author, Lawrence, Kansas, 19 March 1994.

[38] Carol Holstead, "Summary of Research Objectives," Application for New Faculty Grant General Research Program, 1 April 1992.

[39] Ellis Interview.

WORKS CITED

Books

Arntson, Amy. Graphic Design Basics: Second Edition. Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace Javonovich College Publishers, 1993.

Hurlburt, Allen. Layout: The Design of the Printed Page. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, a division of Billboard Publications, 1977.

Owen, William. Modern Magazine Design. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1992.

Wolf, Henry. Visual Thinking: Methods for Making Images Memorable. New York: American Showcase, Inc., 1988.

Periodicals

Mann, Jim. "Creating and Maintaining A Magazine's Tone of Voice." Media Management Monograph No. 117. (March 1989)

"Henry Wolf." Idea. September 1990. 20.

"People." Harper's Bazaar, April 1994, 47.

"Quick." Woman's Day, 26 April 1994, 20.

"Reporter." Allure, March 1994, 54.

"Special Forecast." Graphic Design: USA, ? Month 1993, 32.

"The Story So Far . . ." Ray Gun, October 1993, 6.

Complete Woman. April 1994, cover.

Family Circle. 5 April 1994, cover.

First For Women. April 1994, cover.

McCall's. April 1994, cover.

Show. First Issues Collection, University of Kansas, Lawrence. December 1964. Cover.

Woman's Day. 5 April 1994, cover.

Interviews

Ellis, Estelle, design consultant. Phone interview by author, 19 March 1994, Lawrence, Kansas.

Hill, Rob, assistant editor, Ray Gun. Phone interview by author, 20 April 1994, Lawrence, Kansas.

Wolf, Henry, president, Henry Wolf Productions, Inc. Interview by author, 7 February 1994, Lawrence, Kansas.

Other Sources

Ellis, Ellis, design consultant. Hallmark Lecture, ? October 1993, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Holstead, Carol, author. "Summary of Research Objectives." Application for New Faculty Grant General Research Program, 1 April 1992.

A Brief History of the Environmental Movement in the United States: Mass Media and Social Forces

Mark Neuzil, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor
Department of Journalism and Mass Communications
Mail #4249
University of St. Thomas
2115 Summit Ave.
St. Paul, Minn. 55105-1096
Phone: 612/962-5267
Home Phone: 612/783-2155

E-Mail: MRNEUZIL@STTHOMAS.EDU

Paper submitted to the American Journalism Historians Association convention.
Roanoke, Va., October 6-8, 1994

Abstract

A Brief History of the Environmental Movement in the United States: Mass Media and Social Forces

This research examines the history of the environmental movement in the United States as it goes through processes such as problem definitions, group formation, legitimation, redefinitions and cooptation. This paper examines how the mass media -- books, magazines and newspapers -- functioned in those processes from environmentalism's 19th century roots through the 1960s. Of particular importance here is the emergence of environmentalism as a social problem as dependent on societal recognition and the concept of "publics" and "communities" as discussed by John Dewey. One of the roles of the mass media, in this view, is to help create groups concerned with environmental problems. Dewey's student, Robert Park, said that a public will disappear should the mass media ignore a social problem, and that the media's ability to define problems is its true power. Therefore, media access is sought by power groups concerned with advancing their causes. The perspective taken here is that the mass media performs in an interactive way, serving to reflect the value system of the public, frame debate and legitimize positions taken by power groups in society. The mass media, rather than acting as an agenda-setter for social change, reinforced attempts by various power groups to control the direction of change. When environmentalists acted in concert with various power groups and the media, change occurred. When the sometimes-uneasy union broke down, environmentalists' goals were not met.

The focus here is on the processes and stages of group formation and disintegration in the environmental movement: the initiators and early problem definers like authors Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh; off-again, on-again partnerships in the government and special interest groups; coalitions of scientists, outdoor clubs, weapons makers, railroad companies and other big business groups; and the cooptation of parts of the movement, like the foresters. An important coalition pattern which persists throughout the history of the environmental movement was a linkage with powerful business interests, particularly the large railroad companies. The coalition began with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park and continued with the development of Yosemite National Park and Acadia National Park in the 19th century, collapsed in the Hetch Hetchy controversy and reappeared in the Migratory Bird Act and the Pittman-Robertson Act in the early 20th century.

The paper also challenges the popular notion that the environmental movement is recent in origin. It traces the evolution of environmentalism from its 19th-century roots as "conservation" to the post-Rachel Carson view of a global ecology.

A Brief History of the Environmental Movement in the United States: Mass Media and Social Forces

Conventional environmental movement history dates to the 1960s, usually to the 1962 publication of *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson.[1] One person called the book "the first global environmental impact statement."[2] Other authors refer to the publication of *A Sand County Almanac* by Aldo Leopold in 1949 as a starting point, while another described a "renaissance" in the movement since World War II.[3] Historians employing the "great person" theory highlight the careers of government officials in the first half of this century, men such as Gifford Pinchot, Robert Marshall, Arthur Carhardt, Stephen Mather and Theodore Roosevelt, as critical to the origin of the movement.[4] Activists and organizations such as Howard Zahniser (Wilderness Society), David Brower (Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth) and their patron saint, John Muir (Sierra Club), also fall into the "great person" category.

All of these people are historically important. This research views them and others involved as part of a social movement, going through processes such as problem definitions, group formation, legitimation, redefinitions and cooptation. This paper examines how the mass media -- books, magazines and newspapers -- functioned in those processes from environmentalism's 19th century roots through the 1960s. The perspective taken here is that the mass media performs in an interactive way, serving to reflect the value system of the public and legitimize positions taken by power groups in society. The mass media, rather than acting as an agenda-setter for social change, reinforced attempts by various power groups to control the direction of change. When environmentalists acted in concert with various power groups and the media, change occurred. When the sometimes-uneasy union broke down, environmentalists' goals were not met.

Of particular importance here is the emergence of environmentalism as a social problem as dependent on societal recognition and the concept of "publics" and "communities" as discussed by John Dewey. A public comes into existence, according to Dewey, because it becomes concerned about a perceived threat to the community.[5] One could say that without a social problem, there is no public, and without a public, there is no social problem. Dewey's student, Robert Park, further stated that a public will disappear should the mass media ignore a social problem, and that the media's ability to define problems is its true power.[6] Therefore, media access is sought by power groups concerned with advancing their causes. "The power of the press is the influence that newspapers exercise in the formation of public opinion and in mobilizing the community for political action," Park wrote.[7] Park stressed that there could be no public opinion in regard to any political action unless the public is informed.

The focus here is on the processes and stages of group formation and disintegration in the environmental movement: the initiators and early problem definers like authors Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh; off-again, on-again partnerships in the government and special interest groups; coalitions of scientists, outdoor clubs, weapons makers, railroad companies and other big business groups; and the cooptation of parts of the movement, like the foresters.

An important coalition pattern which persists throughout the history of the environmental movement was a linkage with powerful business interests, particularly the large railroad companies. The coalition began with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park and continued with the development of Yosemite National Park and Acadia National Park in the 19th century, collapsed in the Hetch Hetchy controversy and reappeared in the Migratory Bird Act and the Pittman-Robertson Act in the early 20th century.

Introduction

The environmental movement of the 1990s grew from what was known as the conservation movement in the 19th century. The word "conservation" has undergone several meanings, including "preservation" and "protection," but the word also meant at one time "wise use of natural resources." The conservation and environmental movements are treated here as one movement, with the latter historically stemming from the former. This work adopts a definition of conservation from British historian Max Nicholson, who takes conservation to mean a "positivist, interventionist approach in the theater of the natural environment."[8]

In its early stages, much of the conservation movement was concerned with creating a national park or protecting a species of bird. The environmental movement of the last quarter century encompasses much more than land or wildlife preservation: coalitions include groups concerned with clean air and water, pesticide use, anti-nuclear energy and public health concerns.

Early Problem Definitions

Preservationist sentiment dates to the earliest civilizations known. Some ancient cultures acted on principles of conservation by utilizing agricultural practices not universally accepted in the United States today, including the terracing of hillsides to prevent erosion in ancient China and by the Incas of Peru. In North America, in William Penn's 1681 settlement of Pennsylvania, the Quaker made the provision from the outset "to leave an acre of trees for every five acres cleared," and the colony employed a forester.[9] In what may have been the first U.S. wildlife protection law, groups convinced the New York state assembly to establish a closed hunting season on the heath hen in 1791 after the population of this cousin of the prairie chicken declined. Even with the closed season, the heath hen vanished from the mainland around 1870 and the last known bird died on Martha's Vineyard in the early 1900s, at about the same time the passenger pigeon met its well-known demise.[10] Other birds enjoyed a brighter fate after governmental protection laws were enacted. Massachusetts banned the hunting of robins (a popular food around early Boston) and horned larks in 1818.[11] These early, localized efforts were not well-communicated outside of their regions, due in part to the circulation limitations of the newspapers of the day.

Initial national problem definitions about American conservationism came from poets and philosophers in the Romantic Period (1790-1850). These individuals relayed what they saw in their natural surroundings to others via books, paintings or magazine articles. Novelist James Fenimore Cooper, in his 1823 book *The Pioneers*, for example, deals with the idea that humans should "govern the resources of nature by certain principles in order to conserve them," a theme he continued with his fictional outdoorsman-hero, Leatherstocking, in four more novels over the next 18 years.[12] Others working in the same period who influenced thinking about the nature of nature were novelist Washington Irving, poet William Cullen Bryant and painters Thomas Cole and John James Audubon. Nearly all of the above represented an intellectual elite, a pattern which continued in the movement. Through their mass mediums, their ideas slowly spread across the country.

The best-known American writer to outline a philosophy of nature was Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose essay *Nature* was published in 1835. The slim volume is regarded by modern scholars as the philosophical constitution of Transcendentalism, a way of knowing God through nature. Only a few hundred copies of *Nature* were sold, but it received critical reviews in newspapers and magazines across the country, and its influence can be seen in later writings of authors like Henry David Thoreau. Historian Hans Huth said of Emerson's work: "In fact, profound changes in the American attitude toward nature would be brought about through its influence. But these changes did not take place immediately."[13] Emerson identified the problem, however, much in the same way Alexis de Tocqueville was among the first to identify the substandard societal treatment of American blacks and Upton Sinclair focused attention to the plight of the working conditions in meat packing industries in America's cities.

Emerson did little to develop the theme he set forth in *Nature*. That task was left to others, particularly Thoreau. *Walden*, published in 1854, remains a significant text for today's environmentalists. In his private correspondence, Thoreau was specific in 1858 in calling for "national preserves, in which the bear, and the panther, and some even of the hunter race may still exist, and may not be civilized off the face of the earth -- not for idle sport or food, but for inspiration and our own true revelation."[14] Thoreau, who like Emerson represented an intellectual elite, extended his mentor's definition. He also enjoyed a wider audience.

By the time of Thoreau, water pollution was seen as affecting the fish population, alarming those who made their living or found sport in pulling aquatic life from the nation's rivers and lakes. In 1857, the Connecticut River's aquatic life was so depleted that the state of Vermont commissioned a study of its fish population.[15] The man chosen for the job was George Perkins Marsh, who, seven years later, published one of the most significant books in the history of the conservation movement.

Marsh, besides his interest in fish, was a lawyer, U.S. Congressman, ambassador to Turkey and Italy and speaker of 20 languages. In 1864, drawing on his long career and mastery of the publications of writers from dozens of countries, Marsh wrote a book titled *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Condition*. In the book, Marsh said "the earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant."[16] Marsh, who wrote the book in Italy and published a second edition in 1869, also took note of the need to preserve "American soil... as far as possible, in its primitive condition."[17] Such a preserve could be "a garden for the recreation of the lover of nature."[18]

Marsh's social role in the movement was as the final link in the definition process which began with the Transcendentalists. But unlike Emerson and Thoreau, who were independent intellectuals, Marsh, an experienced politician, was a part of the social system of the day. As a politician, Marsh had the opportunity to serve as a legitimizer for the movement, but his book was not legitimated by the system. *Man and Nature*, urging upon humans a moral responsibility for the earth, sold well enough for two editions but was taken seriously by only a small number of scientists in its early years.[19] Indeed, the national trend virtually was to give away land to anyone with a little cash and a willingness to settle the frontier, aided by laws such as the Homestead Act of 1862.[20] In the Reconstruction years, Adam Smith's laissez-faire economics fueled a period of business and industrial growth, technological innovation and communication and transportation revolutions. With the driving of the golden spike in the final rail of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, "the matchless natural resources of the West had been quickly tapped by the farmer, the miner, the stock raiser, the lumberman and the oil-well driller."[21] Progress became "synonymous with growth, development and the conquest of nature. The idea of living... harmoniously with nature was incompatible with 19th-century American priorities."[22]

Newspapers, Magazines and Early Group Formation

Thoreau, the most widely-read of the three problem-definers, resisted travelling too far from his native New England. First-hand stories of the American West -- where most of the remaining "wild places" were to be found -- were brought to readers by writers like John Filson, Daniel Boone's biographer, and Francis Parkman, who published *The Oregon Trail* in 1848.

But wealthy business interests, often represented by Eastern newspapers and magazines, soon entered the picture, serving a legitimation function. In the middle of the 19th century, the Yosemite Valley region of Northern California, with its giant sequoia trees and spectacular vistas, was a popular destination for Eastern newsmen visiting the West. New York newspaper publisher Horace Greeley went to Yosemite Valley in 1859 and called for the protection of the Mariposa Valley of Big Trees. Greeley represented the major Eastern business establishment, and saw economic possibilities in westward expansion and land and mineral development. The early environmental leader John Muir did his first formal writing for Greeley's newspaper, publishing an article on Yosemite glaciers in the New York *HeraldTribune* in 1871.[23]

Other newspapers followed Greeley's lead. Thomas Starr King authored a series of eight articles on the Yosemite region for the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1860-61. *Springfield Republican* editor Samuel Bowles and famous war correspondent Albert B. Richardson of the *New York Tribune* wrote of Yosemite in 1865.[24] The eastern newspapers and intellectuals initiated a sometimes uneasy business/intellectual union which continues in environmental issues today.

Overlooked in environmental history is the work of the early outdoor writers, many of whom published books or stories in "sporting journals" aimed at the elite hunter or fishermen. In 1845, writer Henry William Herbert created "Frank Forester," a hunter who lived in the pages of novels like *The Warwick Woodlands* and preached the need for fair play and ethics in hunting wild game.[25] With a strong moral viewpoint, Frank Forester was an enemy of the market hunters, who slaughtered upland game by the thousands to supply restaurants, clothiers and hatmakers. Magazines like *Forest & Stream*, *American Sportsman* and *Western Field & Stream* entered the marketplace in the 1870s and supported game laws and restrictions on market hunting.[26] The wealthy readers who read such publications opposed the fur and feather utilitarian role of hunting; instead they wanted hunting limited to sportsmen like themselves. Some outdoor magazines sold 10,000 copies per month, and the pass-along rate was considered quite high because of hunting and fishing clubs.[27] Among the number of special interest groups concerned with nature issues in the late 19th century included the Appalachian Mountain Club, founded in 1876, the American Ornithologists Union (1883), the Audubon Society (1885), the Boone & Crockett Club (1887), the Sierra Club (1892), the Mazamas Club (1894), the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (1895) and the Campfire Club of America (1897).

Group Formation: Early Coalitions

At first glance, it may seem unusual that the first national parks were set aside in a period of aggressive expansionism. On March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed into law an act designating over 2 million acres of northwestern Wyoming, eastern Idaho and southwestern Montana as Yellowstone National Park. In the words of national park historian John Ise, Yellowstone was "so dramatic a departure from the general public land policy of Congress that it almost seemed a miracle."[28] Although viewed as the first time in world history a nation had set aside a large-scale section of land as an act of preservation,[29] evidence suggests an early coalition of media publishers, railroad companies, government scientists and conservationists led to its establishment.[30] The group attempted to influence public opinion through magazine and newspaper stories.

The fledgling conservation movement, the funding of scientific projects by the government, major business interests and the importance of public relations intertwined at Yellowstone in the person of U.S. geologist F.V. Hayden, who was a prominent park supporter.[31] Hayden traveled to Yellowstone in 1871, collecting geologic samples in his role as government scientist; on the same trip he surveyed the area for the Northern Pacific Railroad.[32] Hayden, who was also a physician, had "strong friends in Congress and the railroad lobby" and received $40,000 for his Yellowstone trip from Congress for a geologic survey of "the sources of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers."[33] The 20-men survey party included artist Thomas Moran, who was in the employ of the railroad.

Upon his return, Hayden urged passage of the Yellowstone Park legislation. Joining Hayden in the lobbying effort was Nathaniel Pitt Langford, a Montana politician who was a leader of the Washburn Expedition into the area in 1870, another trip partially funded by the railroad. Both Hayden and Langford wrote articles for the popular magazine *Scribner's Monthly* urging passage of a national park bill and favorably mentioned the railroad.[34] When the bill was up for debate, the railroad, in a "lobbying blitzkreig," engaged Hayden and Langford to set up shop in the capitol rotunda, displaying geologic samples, Moran's sketches and photographs of the area.[35] The railroad company "quite probably paid the expenses necessary to insure a speedy passage of the park bill through Congress."[36] After the park was formed, the railroad paid the first concessionaire fees and Langford was named its first superintendent.[37] A coalition of media, business, government, scientists and conservationists was born.

Following the 1872 Yellowstone legislation, the next significant western land preservation effort occurred in September, 1890, in an amendment to an act revising federal land laws. The legislation created a one-million-acre federal reserve around Yosemite Valley, a small California park. Although the Yosemite National Park amendment passed both houses of Congress "almost unnoticed" in the same day, a coalition of railroad lobbyists and conservationists strikingly similar to the Yellowstone coalition, again using the magazines for legitimation, worked to get the legislation passed.[38]

Century magazine editor Robert Underwood Johnson was a key figure in the Yosemite issue, along with the Audubon Society (which was formed by *Forest & Stream* magazine), the Boone & Crockett Club and the people who would create the Sierra Club, particularly John Muir, who had become nationally known as a geologist through his magazine articles.[39] The key legitimation role in Yosemite's development was played by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Muir, who played a mobilizing role, and the preservationists ran into trouble with three groups when they tried to set aside a Yosemite park in 1889: local entrepreneurs, e.g., the Yosemite Stage and Turnpike Company, which brought tourists from the railroad station to the park; cattlemen, sheepherders and loggers;

and California politicians, who were under the influence of Leland Stanford, head of the railroad.

Johnson talked Muir into writing two articles glorifying Yosemite for *Century*, which were published in August and September, 1890. Muir's writing inspired Rep. William Vandever of Los Angeles to introduce a park bill, while well-known landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted wrote letters to newspapers urging its passage. California Senator George Hearst, his wife and newspaper-publishing son William Randolph became involved in the park project.

The critical point came when Stanford, who rejected pleas for help from editor Johnson in 1889, was forced out as railroad president in favor of Collis Huntington, who announced that Southern Pacific was "withdrawing" from politics, perhaps as part of a public relations move. Huntington then directed SP lobbyists to help Muir win approval of the park bill. "All but invisibly, so as not to burden the Vandever bill with the SP tarnish, the railroad's lobby moved behind the measure."[40] Thus legitimized, Yosemite provided the movement with another important victory. The Yosemite campaign led to a permanent coalition of elite members of San Francisco society, as two University of California professors formed the Sierra Club and persuaded Muir to become its first president.[41]

The railroad company and the Sierra Club joined forces again in 1904, when Muir and Johnson, using the pages of *Century*, pushed to get California to recede Yosemite Valley to the federal government to become part of the park. By that time, the Southern Pacific had landed in the empire of New York financier E.H. Harriman, who had known Muir since an 1899 trip to Alaska. Southern Pacific lawyers helped draft the recession bill and the railroad kept its role secret: Its legislators were told to speak out against the bill in the California senate, then vote for it. "...California and the country are much indebted for the success of this [Yosemite] measure of retrocession to Edward H. Harriman," Johnson wrote in his memoirs.[42] The state Board of Trade joined the coalition by coming out in favor of the bill, to save itself the annual $13,000 appropriation for park upkeep. A sudden shift of nine votes allowed the measure to pass.[43]

Other groups were involved elsewhere. The Audubon Society, which included many members from the American Ornithologists Union, was spearheaded by *Forest & Stream* magazine publisher George Bird Grinnell. Charter members included such wealthy Americans as Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Greenleaf Whittier and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.[44] Within two years of its founding in 1886, the Audubon Society had 50,000 members, but the society's numbers were not supported by organization or resources.

Grinnell and his staff at *Forest & Stream* lost control; Grinnell stopped mentioning the society in his magazine's columns in "self defense" in 1888.[45] For want of a strong central organization, the Audubons lost power by 1889, but reorganized at the turn of the century in opposition to the feather trade. By its 1905 reorganization, there were chapters in 35 states and in Washington, D.C.

In the history of wildlife and land preservation, it was not unusual for power groups to exist in co-advocacy roles with the government. The first national wildlife refuge, created on Pelican Island, Florida, in 1903, was lobbied through Congress by the American Ornithologists Union, which paid the salary of the first refuge manager. In 1906, after Teddy Roosevelt created six more wildlife refuges, the wardens' salaries were paid by the Audubon Society.[46] Such activity continues today: Groups like Ducks Unlimited buy wetlands and present the land to the government for game management.

One historian suggests an injection of ethics "into what ordinarily involved only economics" gave the conservation movement its legitimacy in the Progressive Era.[47] Business elites were also well-represented in the sportsmen's clubs of the day. Charter members of the Boone & Crockett Club (membership was limited to 100) included wealthy men like Grinnell, Teddy Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge and Madison Grant.[48] To qualify for membership, a man must have bagged at least three trophy heads (Roosevelt had eight). The Boone & Crockett Club was credited with making Yellowstone a hunting refuge, the formation of the New York Zoological Park (the Bronx Zoo) and the National Zoological Park in Washington, D.C.[49] The hunting clubs had a natural partner in weapons manufacturers, who joined the movement to help lobby for for federal game laws, and the outdoors magazines.

The primary reason behind the formation of the Boone & Crockett Club was the concern of editor Grinnell and others about the mass slaughter of game by market hunters.[50] The elite nature of the membership opened powerful doors: "no conservation organization in our history has had more political know-how."[51] The Boone & Crockett Club members had their own ideas about how game should be hunted and the market hunters were slaughtering their resources. More than only a concern over the preservation of wild lands, the Boone & Crockett Club redefined the conservation movement by dealing with issues of wild game -- birds, animals and fish -- that challenged the nation's myth of inexhaustibility of resources.[52]

Attacking market hunting was a favorite theme of the sporting journals of the day. Many of the magazines were edited by prominent members of the interest groups, such as

Grinnell. The war of words was usually colorful and occasionally bordered on what today would be considered libelous. *Recreation Magazine*, for example, joined *Forest & Stream* in the assault on market hunting in the 1890s. Editor G.O. Shields reprinted newspaper pictures showing the immense daily kills, but rewrote the original cutlines. For example, one photo showed two hunters from Tennessee with their dogs standing near a pile of 120 dead quail, with the caption reading, "I pity the dogs that were forced to associate with such miserable swine as these."[53] As one historian noted, "if the victim was literate, he might not pose so proudly beside his next whopping bag of game."[54] The editorial campaign was "as promising an instrument of reform as any."[55]

Group Formation: Cooptation

One of the most significant periods of reform in U.S. history was the Progressive Era (1900-1920), which saw a change in the environmental movement with the establishment of a government bureaucracy to deal with conservation issues, and a cooptation of some of the movement and its definitions into the social system.[56] Magazine circulations -- in part fueled by muckraking journalism -- skyrocketed. Men like foresters Gifford Pinchot and Overton Price and hydrologists Frederick H. Newell and W.J. McGee began building government power bases, helped by publicity. During the Roosevelt administration (1901-1908), only a handful of environmental laws were passed, but the president used existing legislation to greatly expand protected federal holdings, supported by muckraking magazines such as *Colliers*. Under Roosevelt and Pinchot, his chief forester, the national forests were expanded from 42 million acres to 172 million acres; 51 national wildlife refuges were created; and 18 areas of special interest, including the Grand Canyon and the Petrified Forest, were preserved under the Antiquities Act of 1906.[57]

As in many social movements, as its membership became professional, it also began becoming coopted by the government. In the conservation movement, cooptation was particularly apparent in the foresters. The process began after *Man and Nature* inspired Harvard botanist Charles Sprague Sargent to survey the nation's forest for the federal government as part of a forest protection idea. A forest protection bill passed Congress in 1891, and 13 million acres were set aside in the next two years.[58]

A young Yale graduate named Gifford Pinchot had accompanied Sargent on his survey. In December, 1894, Pinchot, Sargent and Robert Underwood Johnson met in New York to devise a plan for a federal forest commission. Once again, big business entered the coalition to legitimize the issue: the New York Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce endorsed the idea. The forest commission was created in 1897, with Pinchot appointed as its head.

Much to the chagrin of Sargent and Johnson, Pinchot became enamored of the powers of governing, particularly public relations and self-advertisement. Pinchot wanted his own department, so he persuaded Congress to transfer the forest reserves from the interior department to the agriculture department. To get Congressional approval, Pinchot soon allowed sheep into the Oregon and Washington preserves, let lumbermen begin to cut trees and opened up the Sierra reserve to 200,000 sheep. Roosevelt put Pinchot in charge of conservation for the administration; in 1905, the U.S. Forest Service was created and in 10 years its budget increased 100 fold.[59] The forest service, conceived as a preservationist idea, became coopted into the government as a lumbering operation. There was little the preservationists could do; although they had a sizeable membership, the forest service had the organization and resources to expand its power base through the next 30 years. The lumber industry trade groups funded the American Forestry Association; in 1928 the head of the forest service, William Greeley, quit to become general manager of the West Coast Lumberman's Association.[60]

The major coalition and cooptation players were in place by the beginning of the century: a national mass media, the governmental bureaucracy, environmental groups and business and industry. The business/conservation coalition appeared again in 1909, with the creation of Acadia National Park in Maine. Wealthy conservationist George Dorr and the local water company allied to condemn land purchased for middle class homes and cottages on the island. The well-born landowners bought the condemned land and gave it to the federal government for a park (substantially increasing the value of the homes of the gentry already living on the island). Among the big contributors was John D. Rockefeller Jr., who gave over 5,000 acres to the park with the stipulation that he could build roads and bridges on the site, at a cost of $2 million.[61]

Contradictions in the movement, generally classified as a split between preservation and utilitarian models, can been seen in the creation of the National Park Service in 1916. The charter of the Park Service orders the agency to preserve areas in their natural state and provide for the public's enjoyment. Access, illustrated by the Park Service's 1918 decision to allow automobiles into the parks, often threatens preservation.[62]

Conservationists joined with big business again in 1913 and won another victory with the passage of the Migratory Bird Act. A key legitimizer in the controversy was automobile manufacturer and avid birdwatcher Henry Ford, who kept 500 birdhouses on his estate outside Detroit.[63] President Taft signed the act without reading it on his last day in office -- had he known the bill gave the federal government jurisdiction over birds (over and above state laws), Taft would have vetoed it.[64] The Biological Survey used the Act and its companion, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918, in the broadest sense, banning spring hunting, setting national bag limits and prohibiting the shooting of most shorebirds.[65] Game management issues were coopted into the government.

Hetch Hetchy: Groups Mobilized[66]

Nowhere is the early national mass media use by the environmental movement more evident than in the fight over the Hetch Hetchy dam in Northern California in the early 20th century. The case was among the first of many classic confrontations between the interests of government (the city of San Francisco), business and environmentalists. The national media coverage was intense and impressive. "One of the remarkable things about the case," historian Huth wrote, "was that, though the subject of the debate was a remote valley in California which few in the East had seen, interest in it became nation-wide."[67] The issue involved the nation because it was communicated coast-to-coast and reflected a common concern in the value system of the public.

Hetch Hetchy was a valley in the Sierra Mountains, watered by the Tuolumne River, about 20 miles north of Yosemite Valley. A part of Yosemite National Park, Hetch Hetchy was more or less due east of the city of San Francisco, which, like much of California, suffers from chronic water shortages. At the beginning of the century, San Francisco saw Hetchy Hetchy as a solution to its water problems but was hindered in plans for a reservoir because Hetch Hetchy was part of Yosemite. In 1900, however, the national parks did not have a strong lobby in government (the National Park Service was formed in 1916), amplifying a federal ambivalence about the Hetch Hetchy project.

San Francisco's engineers and hydrologists, including city engineer Marsden Manson, found Hetch Hetchy perfect for a dam. The valley, which featured a flat floor and steep cliffs, narrowed at the west end, making it convenient and inexpensive for a dam. The site was similar to a 3 1/2-mile-long bathtub through which a crystal-clear mountain stream flowed. Further, the "bathtub" was only 150 miles from the city. In 1900, the city commissioned a survey of the area for its possible use as a water supply, which was criticized by Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock as an "unauthorized invasion" of a national park by San Francisco.[68]

The Right of Way Act of 1901 legalized San Francisco's survey, providing it got the Interior department's approval. The act, according to park historian John Ise, was "perfectly tailored for looters of the parks, for it authorized the Secretary to grant rights of way through government reservations of all kinds" for water conduits, dams, reservoirs and other projects "in the public interest."[69] Hitchcock, however, would have none of it. He turned down the city's request to build a reservoir on the site, claiming the request was not in the public's interest.

The controversy died down, but two dramatic events occurred in the span of a year to revive it. The San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1905 mobilized the campaign for a new water supply and re-defined the problem in safety terms. Then, in 1906, Hitchcock resigned as interior secretary and James R. Garfield, son of the late president, was chosen to succeed him. Garfield, a close friend of chief forester Gifford Pinchot, favored the dam. Pinchot's reasons for supporting the dam were unclear (he did not mention Hetch Hetchy in his autobiography), but some scholars speculate he may have wanted centralized control of the site by the government rather than have it fall into the hands of private business.[70] The argument fails because the site was already controlled by the government as part of Yosemite National Park. Whatever the reason, Pinchot wrote to city engineer Manson in 1906, urging him to reapply for the dam permit. Manson did so. At the same time, the engineer admitted there were other sites suitable for a reservoir in the Sierras outside of the park, including Lake Eleanor.

The Sierra Club, which counted Manson as a member, was divided. Many of its members lived in San Francisco and could see the appeal of both arguments. The Sierra Club leadership, namely Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, was not undecided, however. Muir appealed directly to Roosevelt (the two had camped together in Yosemite a few years earlier), but the president was torn between political reality and his environmentalist leanings. Lacking a strong stance by Roosevelt, Garfield approved the request, inserting a clause that Lake Eleanor be fully developed as a water source first. Muir considered re-forming his old coalition with the railroad companies but he was unable to use railroad help on Hetch Hetchy because powerful anti-monopoly Progressives stood behind Roosevelt. The magazines, other than Johnson's *Century*, supported Roosevelt. Muir feared a political backlash.[71] While Muir pondered the railroads' assistance, he received help from The Spring Valley Water Company of San Francisco, which wanted to prevent the city water services from becoming a public utility.[72]

Before construction could begin, William Howard Taft replaced Roosevelt as president after the 1908 elections. Taft, charmed by Muir in a 1909 visit, replaced Garfield with Richard A. Ballinger, who rescinded the Hetch Hetchy permit (and subsequently fired Pinchot). The issue simmered, particularly in San Francisco. The political winds shifted again in 1912 with the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who appointed former San Francisco city attorney Franklin K. Lane as secretary of the interior. Lane, an ardent supporter of the project, revived the plan. Congress, persuaded by Rep. John E. Raker of California, put its stamp of approval on the project in 1913 (passing it by 18 votes) and the fight ended.

The Hetch Hetchy dam remained unfinished for several years. Muir died in 1914, before the valley was flooded. World War I slowed construction, but the dam finally was completed in 1925. Other parts of the reservoir, vital to its use, went unfinished for several more years. Also left undone were the fire roads and other facilities San Francisco promised to build to accommodate tourists at the new lake. The water pipes were opened in the 1930s, but the city had no means to distribute the water, so it was sold to Pacific Gas and Electric Company -- the very result Pinchot and his allies supposedly hoped to avoid. Meanwhile, Lake Eleanor was never explored as an alternative site.

Scholars are somewhat divided on Hetch Hetchy's impact on the conservation movement. Many take a lost-the-battle, won-the-war view. On the winning side: No part of a national park has since been appropriated for such a project. Historian Frank Graham Jr., said "the conservation movement came out purified and strengthened, better prepared for similar confrontations in the years ahead..."[73] The Hetch Hetchy fight, which further legitimized the movement in the governmental arena, was a key mobilization point for previously discordant conservation groups, helped by media coverage. On the losing side: The Sierra Club, which was seen as the losers, was delegitimized and did not fare as well. Torn by the controversy and the death of Muir, the club's power faded, and, according to former interior secretary Stewart Udall, became "little more than a regional hiking club, preoccupied with the resources in its own backyard" until the 1950s.[74] The coalition of railroad companies and conservationists, established in 1872, was dead.

With the coming of World War I and the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover years to follow, the environmental movement was less visible than in the Progressive Era. During the War, wildlife and the national park system suffered setbacks with little or no protest from groups. For example, 5,000 cattle were allowed to graze in Yosemite Park, coal mining took place in Yellowstone, and ranchers asked for an elk hunting season in Yellowstone so they could graze more cattle with less competition on the grasslands.[75]

Other Coalitions

Shortly after the battle for Hetch Hetchy, another conservation group, the Izaak Walton League, was involved in a controversy of its own involving the Superior National Forest. Unlike the Sierra Club, the Izaak Walton League (or "Ikes" as the group is popularly called, named after the 17th-century English fisherman and author) was successful and became a legitimate political force, helped by the formation of a coalition of fishermen and armed service veterans.

Superior National Forest, which is adjacent to Canada's Quetico Provincial Park near the Minnesota border, was formed in 1909. A few years later, the Forest Service announced plans to built a "road to every lake," which the Ikes felt sounded like a logging company idea to access the area's timber at government expense.[76] That plan failed "largely through the efforts of the Ikes."[77] The lumber interests then proposed a plan to dam a chain of lakes in the forest and harvest the flooded timber stands.

This time, the Ikes joined with local residents, hikers, campers and outdoor magazines in forming the Quetico-Superior Council, which joined in a coalition with two veterans' groups: the American Legion and the Canadian Legion. *Outdoor Life* called Quetico-Superior "one of the few remaining Eden spots of our continent."[78] The group successfully fought the dam. "Conservationists, standing for the first time together in a cohesive group, won the battle," Huth asserts.[79] Those two victories started a string of successes for the Ikes in the Superior area: In the early 1940s, airplanes were used to transport guests to private resorts inside the park, threatening the solitude of the area. The Ikes raised money through the 1940s to buy the resorts remaining in the park. The cost was prohibitive, however, so the group appealed to President Harry Truman, who created an "airspace reservation" above the roadless area.[80] Other motorized transportation, specifically motorboats, was banned in a large area of northeastern Minnesota created as the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in the 1960s. "...those writing in the mass media did their best to frame the debate in *their* terms," wrote historian David Backes. "And the best way to attack the political power of money was to wield one of the most popular cultural symbols of the times -- the religion of the outdoors."[81]

Redefinitions: Science and Legitimation

Meanwhile, young foresters (and authors) Aldo Leopold and Robert Marshall and landscape architect Arthur Carhardt were beginning their careers. Leopold and Carhardt, as scientists, have been credited with defining the idea for wilderness areas in the National Forest System, by Carhardt's proposals for San Isabel and the White River National Forests of Colorado in 1919 and Leopold's Gila Wilderness, New Mexico, proposal in 1922.[82] Their positions as government scientists legitimized their arguments: Carhardt convinced the Forest Service not to allow homes or roads to be built in the Trapper Lake area of the White River National Forest, although leases were already sold for home sites.[83] Leopold and Marshall co-founded the Wilderness Society in 1935. The coalition and co-advocacy roles with business remained, however. Leopold's 1928 game survey was sponsored by the Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers Institute; the no homes-no roads idea was supported by stockmen, who wanted to keep tourists out.[84]

With the coming of the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt was allowed an unusually broad range of powers as he tried to install his domestic program, The New Deal, using a new mass medium, radio. Advances were made in conservation planning and construction in the FDR era, including the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the Soil Conservation Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The changing nature of the problem definitions of the conservation movement is apparent in the TVA, which was supported by many conservation groups as a "hydroelectric liberator" and a wise use of natural resources in the Teddy Roosevelt-Gifford Pinchot mold.[85] By the 1990s, such hydroelectric projects as the TVA, Grand Coulee and Boulder dams would be considered ecologic disasters by environmentalists.

The legacy of the CCC is somewhat consistent with later conservation definitions. Under Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, the CCC, which began in 1933, opened 2,000 camps in national forests, parks, state parks and other lands. The CCC workers were involved in forest planting, soil conservation, recreation development, flood control, range rehabilitation and other activities. By World War II, the CCC had planted 300 million trees, made 1 million miles of roads and trails, strung 85,000 miles of telephone lines, built 4,000 fire towers and 100,000 small buildings and bridges. Over 2.5 million people served in the program before it was discontinued by Congress in 1942.[86]

In 1948, at the end of his career, Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac* was published, redefining the conservation movement by laying down an ethical stance for the preservation of natural resources important in future movement activities. Leopold argued that to conserve natural resources for economic reasons was not enough; conservation should be considered a moral obligation and human's relations with nature should be governed by ethics.[87]

New Coalitions: Scientists and Legitimation II

During the 1940s and 1950s, the conservation movement underwent another redefinition. The development of atomic energy mobilized a group of anti-nuclear scientists, including Barry Commoner, who became politically active in the period. One writer has suggested the movement took on a moral tone absent from pre-World War II arguments because of the threat of the nuclear age.[88] While the public health coalition of the movement was forming, the traditional conservationists shifted from a primarily defensive to an offensive strategy -- including intensive mass media use -- which resulted in the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964.[89] The forum for that shift was a proposed dam at Echo Park on the Green River at the Colorado-Utah border, which would have flooded the 320-square-mile Dinosaur National Monument.

The primary figures in the fight to preserve Echo Park were David Brower of the Sierra Club and Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society, and their primary vehicle was mass media publicity. Those men, their organizations and other conservation groups formed the Council of Conservationists in 1955, which successfully raised the specter of Hetch Hetchy in Congress, and the Echo Park proposal was defeated in 1956. Among the strategies of the conservationists in the six-year battle was a media blitz, which included articles in *Life*, *Newsweek* and *Saturday Evening Post*, full page advertisements in *The New York Times* and a direct mail campaign. Picture books by photographer Ansel Adams were published. The mobilization results of Echo Park were the best since Hetch Hetchy: the Sierra Club doubled its membership during the struggle.[90] A proposal in the 1960s to build two dams on the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon was defeated, as well, when conservation groups used similar tactics, including one widely-circulated newspaper advertisement which read "SHOULD WE ALSO FLOOD THE SISTINE CHAPEL SO TOURISTS CAN GET NEARER THE CEILING?"[91]

The Wilderness Act of 1964, first proposed by Zahniser, Brower and others in 1956, went through 65 rewritten bills and 18 public hearings and received only lukewarm support from the National Park Service and Forest Service.[92] The Act was important because it made wilderness preservation a statutory directive from Congress to whatever administrative agency was involved -- it centralized control. There were no new wilderness areas established in the bill; instead, existing areas were organized into a "wilderness system" under the same jurisdictions.[93] Another mobilization point: The Wilderness Society increased its membership from 6,700 in 1956 to 27,000 after the Act was signed.[94]

Two years before the Wilderness Act was signed, marine biologist Rachel Carson helped make DDT a household word and added another public health definition to the environmental movement. (Previously, the role of science in the movement had been somewhat secondary to ethical, moral and utilitarian viewpoints.) Carson's book *Silent Spring,* which detailed the impact of the pesticide on humans and other species, served as a mobilization point.[95] Printed first as a series in *New Yorker* magazine, one writer called the book "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the environmental movement."[96] Ecological science "provided an intellectual basis for and a predominant role in the leadership of the contemporary environmental movement."[97]

By the early 1970s, hundreds of newly formed environmental groups, including Greenpeace (1972) and the Natural Resources Defense Council (1972) and books by scientists and other professionals broadened and legitimized the movement. Among the books were *The Population Bomb* by Paul Ehrlich (1968), *Design with Nature* by Ian McHarg (1969) and *The Closing Circle* by Commoner (1972).

Earlier, the neo-Malthusians joined the environmental movement after the publication of William Vogt's *Road to Survival* in 1948. The best-selling conservation book in the country before *Silent Spring, Road* was legitimized by the government in a 1952 commission report chaired by William Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The commission report helped bring together a conservative coalition of business, government, labor and private foundations concerned named Resources for the Future.[98]

Conclusion

In the history of the environmental movement -- from Emerson to Rachel Carson -- the mass media, the environmentalists, the government and various power groups have interacted to affect social change. The role of books, magazines and newspaper articles was important in the creating of a community -- a national community -- with environmental awareness and understanding. At the same time, the mass media also played a significant role in the formation of powerful groups, as environmentalists used the help of others to accomplish their goals. As Robert Park said, "there is and there can be no such thing as news, in so far as concerns politics, except in a community in which there is a body of tradition and common understanding in terms of which events are ordinarily interpreted."[99] The mass media helped shape the parameters of the debate.

---

[1] Smith, Nelson and Leonard J. Theberge, *Energy Coverage Media Panic*, 1983, New York, Longman, p. 142; see also Edith Efron, *The Apocalyptics*, 1984, New York, Simon & Schuster, p. 30; Stanley Rothman and Robert Lichter, "The Media, Elite Conflict and Risk Perception in Nuclear Energy Policy," paper delivered at the American Political Science Association meeting, August 1986, Washington, D.C., p. 1.

[2] Udall, Stewart L., *The Quiet Crisis and the Next Generation*, 1988, Salt Lake City, Gibbs-Smith, p. 202.

[3] McCloskey, Michael, "Wilderness Movement at the Crossroads, 1945-1970," *Pacific Historical Review*, 1972, pp. 346-361.

[4] See for example Fox, Stephen, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*, 1981, Boston, Little, Brown; Reiger, John F., *American Sportsmen and the History of Conservation*, 1975, New York, Winchester Press; Baldwin, Donald, *The Quiet Revolution: Grass Roots of Today's Wilderness Preservation Movement*, 1972, Boulder, Colo., Pruett Publishing Co.; Roth, Dennis, *The Wilderness Movement and the National Forests*, 1988, College Station, Texas, Intaglio Press.

[5] Dewey, John, *The Public and Its Problems*, 1927, Chicago, Swallow Press.

[6] Park, Robert, "News and the Power of the Press," *American Journal of Sociology*, 47:1 July 1941, pp. 1-11.

[7] Ibid, p. 1.

[8] Nicholson, Max, *The Environmental Revolution*, 1970, London, Hodder and Stoughton, p. 186.

[9] Ibid, p. 162.

[10] Graham Jr., Frank, *Man's Dominion: The Story of Conservation in America*, 1971, Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, p. 15.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Huth, Hans, *Nature and the Americans*, 1957, Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, p. 34.

[13] Ibid, p. 88.

[14] Thoreau, Henry David, *Walden and Other Writings*, Brooks Atkinson, ed., 1950, New York, Random House, p. 51.

[15] Reiger, John F., *American Sportsmen and The Origin of Conservation*, 1975, New York, Winchester Press, p. 53.

[16] Marsh, George Perkins, *Man and Nature*, 1864, New York, Scribner & Co. (1869 edition), p. 35.

[17] Ibid, p. 228.

[18] Ibid, p. 235.

[19] Graham, 1971, p. 72.

[20] Smith, Henry Nash, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, 1950, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. pp. 160-173.

[21] Filler, Louis, *The Muckrakers*, 1976, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, p.12.

[22] Marx, Leo, "American Institutions and Ecological Ideals," *Science*, 170, Nov. 27, 1970, pp. 945, 952.

[23] Fox, Stephen, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*, 1981, Boston, Little, Brown, pp. 20, 22.

[24] Huth, 1957, p. 144.

[25] Reiger, 1975, p. 26.

[26] Neuzil, Mark, "When Conservation Was Young: *Forest & Stream* Magazine and the Redefinition of Hunting," paper presented to Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication magazine division spring conference, April 1991, Williamsburg, Va.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ise, John, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*, 1961, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, p. 17.

[29] Ibid, p. 658.

---

[30] See, for example, Neuzil, Mark, "Media and Movements in the First National Parks," paper presented to the Midwest Regional Conference of Journalism and Mass Communication Historians, April 7, 1990, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. For a review of the involvement of the railroads, see Runte, Alfred, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks*, 1984, Flagstaff, Ariz., Northland Press.

[31] Huth, 1957, p. 153.

[32] Runte, Alfred, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks*, 1984, Flagstaff, Ariz., Northland Press, p. 22.

[33] Chase, Alston, *Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of America's First National Park*, 1987, New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, p. 266.

[34] Neuzil, 1990, pp. 14-15.

[35] Chase, 1987, p. 266.

[36] Nash, Roderick, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Third Edition, 1982, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 111.

[37] Chase, 1987, p. 267.

[38] Ise, 1961, pp. 57-58.

[39] Graham, 1971, p. 103. See also Johnson, Robert Underwood, *Remembered Yesterdays*, 1923, Boston, Little, Brown & Co.

[40] Fox, 1981, pp. 106-107.

[41] Ibid, p 107.

[42] Johnson, Robert Underwood, *Remembered Yesterdays*, 1923, Boston, Little, Brown, p. 291.

[43] Ibid, pp. 127-128.

[44] Graham, 1971, p. 32.

[45] Ibid, p. 41.

[46] Ibid, p. 115.

[47] Nash, Roderick, *The Rights of Nature*, 1989, Madison, Wis., University of Wisconsin Press, p. 50.

[48] Nash, 1982, p.152.

[49] Graham, 1971, p. 103.

[50] Udall, 1988, p. 149.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Reiger, 1975, p. 22.

[53] Graham, 1971, p. 113.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Reiger, 1975, p. 22.

[57] Graham, 1971, p. 134.

[58] Fox, 1981, p. 109.

[59] Ibid, pp. 114, 129.

[60] Ibid, p. 187.

[61] Ibid, pp. 136-137, 220-221.

[62] This dualism is highlighted by Garrett Hardin in his well-known 1967 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162 (1967) pp. 1243-1248. Hardin used as an example the carrying capacity of the common grazing areas in medieval English villages.

[63] Graham, 1971, p. 245.

[64] Ibid, pp. 197-198.

[65] Ibid, p. 216.

[66] Several sources were used to compile this brief history of the Hetch Hetchy controversy. Among them were: Graham, pp.161-166; Ise, pp. 85-96; Nash, pp. 161-181; Udall, pp.120-122; Huth, pp. 182-185; and Fox, pp. 140-148.

[67] Huth, 1957, p. 183.

[68] Graham, 1971, p. 161.

---

[69] Ise, 1961, pp. 85-96.
[70] See Nash.
[71] Cohen, Michael P., *The Pathless Way: John Muir and the American Wilderness*, 1984, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 324-325.
[72] Fox, 1981, p. 142.
[73] Graham, 1971, p. 167.
[74] Udall, 1988, p. 206.
[75] Graham, 1971, p. 216.
[76] Huth, 1957, p. 206.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Backes, David, *Canoe Country*, 1991, Minocqua, Wis., NorthWord Press, p. 75.
[79] Huth, 1957, p. 206.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Backes, 1991, p. 75. Italics in original.
[82] Baldwin, Donald N. *The Quiet Revolution: Grass Roots of Today's Wilderness Preservation Movement*, 1972, Boulder, Colo., Pruett Publishing Company, p. 17.
[83] Ibid, p. 30.
[84] Fox, 1981, pp. 245-246.
[85] Koppes, 1988, p. 241.
[86] Graham, 1971, pp. 263-264.
[87] Leopold, Aldo, *A Sand County Almanac*, 1949, New York, Oxford University Press.
[88] Fox, 1981, p. 287.
[89] Graham, 1971, pp. 300-330.
[90] Fox, 1981, pp. 285, 289.
[91] Nash, 1982, pp. 209-220.
[92] Petulla, Joseph M., *American Environmentalism*, 1980, College Station, Texas, Texas A&M University Press, p. 45.
[93] Graham, 1971, p. 330.
[94] Fox, 1981, p. 289.
[95] Carson, Rachel, *Silent Spring*, 1962, Boston, Houghtin Mifflin.
[96] Fox, 1981, p. 292.
[97] Petulla, 1980, ff.
[98] Fox, 1981, p. 308.
[99] Park, 1941, p. 11.

CS

THE RIP RAP SHOAL STORY:

FIRST PRECEDENT FOR REVEALING THE IDENTITY OF A JOURNALIST'S SOURCE

By ROBERT L. SPELLMAN

The author is associate professor and head, news-editorial sequence, in the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale.

The *Phoenix Gazette* of Alexandria, Va., startled Washington on Dec. 28, 1826, when it published allegations of corrupt behavior by Vice President John C. Calhoun during his tenure as secretary of war.[1] Many of the allegations were false, but the story was an early example of enterprise reporting in Washington. It was written by William F. Thornton, an editor of the newspaper, and posed a threat to the South Carolinian's political career. The story included allegations that Calhoun had profited from a War Department contract to provide stone for Fortress Calhoun at Rip Rap Shoal near Hampton Roads, Va. Instead of suing for libel, an action in which Calhoun would have prevailed, the vice president sought an investigation by the House of Representatives. The House agreed and an ensuing investigation cleared Calhoun.[2]

The probe also produced a confrontation between Congress and a journalist who wanted to---but did not---protect the identity of his source. Thornton was the first journalist to break what already was an established journalistic ethic and disclose the name of his source to Congress.[3] The effect of his action is difficult to assess, but it was a precedent that Washington correspondents would have to overcome in the future. Certainly, it made it easier for Congress to compel journalists in 1835[4] and in 1844[5] to divulge the names of sources.[6]

---

[1] *Phoenix Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1826. Calhoun served as secretary of war from 1817 to 1825 under President James Monroe.

[2] U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 79, 19th Cong., 2d Sess., 1827.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 82. The statement that Thornton was the first journalist to reveal the identity of a source to Congress is based on a comprehensive search of congressional records.

[4] U.S. Senate, Report No. 148, 23d Cong., 2d Sess., 1835, pp. 7-8.

[5] Smith, Henry H. (compiler), *Digest of Decisions and Precedents of the Senate and House of Representatives*, U.S. Senate, Misc. Doc. 278, 53d Cong., 2d Sess., 1894, p. 59.

[6] Two scholars who have studied journalistic privilege during the 19th century record no source disclosures prior to Thornton. Kaminski, Thomas, "Congress, Correspondents, and Confidentiality in the Nineteenth Century," unpublished M.S. thesis, San Diego State University, 1976; Gregg, Leigh F., "The First Amendment in the Nineteenth Century: Journalists' Privilege and

ESTABLISHING A JOURNALISTIC ETHIC

Journalists recognized in the early years of the American republic that they had to shield the identities of sources if they were to acquire sensitive information. In 1800 William Duane, the fiery editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, rejected a demand by Congress that he reveal the source of information about a Federalist effort to subvert the electoral college.[7] Duane wrote that he would not reveal his sources even if "the rack should be introduced and their culprit put to the torture."[8] The Senate dropped the effort to learn Duane's sources, but it did find him in contempt when he failed to appear before it.[9]

Nathaniel Rounsavell, a correspondent of the *Alexandria* (Va.) *Herald*, suffered four days of confinement in 1812 rather than disclose which congressman provided information for a story about the passage of a trade embargo bill by the House of Representatives. Rounsavell was arrested when he refused to name his source. The journalist claimed he received no explicit leak, but he declined to discuss sources because it "might have the effect of criminating those who had committed no crime, and from whose conversation, but for previous and subsequent knowledge, he could not have ascertained that an embargo had been the subject of discussion."[10] Rounsavell was released after Rep. John Smilie, a Pennsylvania Republican, admitted that he was the newsman's source.[11]

In 1820 Joseph Gales Jr. and William W. Seaton, editors of the *National Intelligencer*, resisted a demand for source disclosure from

---

Congressional Investigation," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984. See also McPherson, Elizabeth Gregory, "The History of Reporting the Debates and Proceedings of Congress," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1940.

[7] *Annals of the Congress: The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 6th Cong., 1st Sess., 1800, p. 63.

[8] Philadelphia *Aurora*, April 2, 1800.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 125.

[10] *Annals of the Congress*, 12th Cong., 1st Sess., 1812, p. 1264.

[11] *Ibid*, pp. 1263-1264, 1274.

Rep. John Randolph, a Virginia Republican. Randolph wanted to know the source for a story about remarks Randolph made on the death in a duel of Stephen Decatur, the Navy hero.[12] He sought the expulsion of the journalists from the press gallery unless they complied with his demand.[13] The journalists rejected the demand and wrote, "(W)ere it ten times more valuable than it is, the menace of expulsion. . .would not induce us to swerve, on this occasion, from our duty. . .to resist every attempt to invade the *privileges of the press*."[14] The House voted by an overwhelming margin not to expel the journalists.[15]

Any notion that journalists had a legal privilege to withhold information from Congress was dashed by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Anderson v. Dunn*.[16] The Court found Congress had expansive powers to uphold its privileges, including those of compelling testimony and punishing libels. The Court said any assertion that Congress "should not possess the power to suppress rudeness, or repel insult, is a supposition too wild to be suggested."[17] The Court ruled the power extends to contempts committed outside the presence of Congress, including contempts by publication, and encompasses the authority to punish by imprisonment. While the length of imprisonment is within the discretion of Congress, any confinement may not extend beyond adjournment.[18]

THE RIP RAP SHOAL CONTRACT

When he became secretary of war, Calhoun launched a program of construction of forts at strategic locations along the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico coasts and on the Great Lakes. The bastions included Fortress Monroe at Old Point Comfort and Fortress Calhoun at Rip Rap Shoal near Hampton Roads to guard the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Procedures provided for Army Engineers to let construction contracts. Elijah Mix was the low bidder on a contract to supply stone at Rip Rap Shoal. Mix and Gen. Joseph G. Swift, chief of army engineers, signed the contract on July 25, 1818. Witnessing the signing was Christopher Vandeventer, chief clerk of the War Department and Mix's brother-in-law. Apparently Swift was unaware that that Mix had a background of forgery and fraud.

---

[12] *National Intelligencer*, March 24, 1820.

[13] *Annals of the Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 1694.

[14] *National Intelligencer*, March 29, 1820 (italics in original).

[15] *Annals*, pp. 1694-1695.

[16] Anderson v. Dunn, 6 Wheaton 204 (1821).

[17] *Anderson*, 229.

[18] *Id*, 231. Congress passed in 1857 a statute that made contempt of Congress a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to $1,000 and imprisonment of up to one year. 11 Stat. 155. The statute exists coincident with the common law power to punish contempt. In re Chapman, 166 U.S. 661 (1897).

Mix's finances were such that he could obtain a performance bond for the contract only if he brought in partners. He offered to sell a share of the contract to Vandeventer, who asked Calhoun's advice. Calhoun said the purchase would be legal, but he suggested it would expose Vandeventer to criticism. Ignoring Calhoun's advice, Vandeventer purchased a one-quarter share and later bought another one-quarter share. Mix sold shares to other investors, including one to a secret partner, whose identity never was discovered.[19] Mix had underestimated the cost of supplying the stone and it appeared the venture would sustain large losses. Instead the Panic of 1819 depressed the cost of labor and transportation and the contract became a bonanza. Vandeventer sold one of his one-quarter shares back to Mix and the other to Samuel Cooper, his father-in-law.[20]

Meanwhile, Calhoun learned of Vandeventer's activities when President James Monroe received an anonymous letter about the chief clerk's dealings. The secretary confronted Vandeventer and informed him he would be dismissed if Calhoun had to ask Congress for more money for the contract or had to make other decisions that would benefit the contractor. The press learned of the contract and attacked Calhoun for the fortifications program and for not firing Vandeventer. Allegations of scandal were published. In 1822 a House committee examined the Rip Rap contract. While it vindicated

---

[19] *House Report No. 79*, p. 5

[20] *Ibid.*

Calhoun, the panel rebuked the War Department for awarding a contract to Mix, who was described as unsavory. It recommended that he be given no more contracts, but the finding came after Congress had provided money to extend his contract.[21]

THE *GAZETTE* STORY

Calhoun had a particular sensitivity to newspaper stories as 1826 drew to a close. In May President John Quincy Adams, writing as "Patrick Henry," attacked the Calhoun's political conduct and claimed it resulted from the vice president's view of himself as "the residuary legatee of General Jackson's pretensions to the presidency."[22] Using the pseudonym "Onslow," after the 18th century speaker of the English Parliament, Calhoun penned a defense of himself and a political broadside against Adams' policies.[23] For the next six months Adams and Calhoun assailed each other in the pages of Washington newspapers.

The genesis of the *Gazette* story is found in a series of anti-Calhoun articles published in the fall of 1825 in the New York *National Advocate*, the flagship of the New York City Democratic Party, and written by Satterlee Clark under the pseudonyms "Hancock" and "Young Rifle." Clark disliked Calhoun, who had fired him as an army paymaster for financial misconduct, although he asserted he wrote the articles only because a pro-Calhoun New York newspaper was publishing the "vilest slanders against me."[24] Mix read the articles and sent a letter "To the author of Hancock" in which he claimed to have evidence that would prove Calhoun secretly profited from the Rip Rap contract. Clark did nothing about the letter until Christmas morning, 1826, more than one year later, when gave the letter to James Barbour, secretary of war under

---

[21] Bruns, Roger A., "John C. Calhoun---The Rip Rap Imbroglio 1826," in Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M., and Roger A. Bruns (eds.), *Congress Investigates: A Documented History 1792-1974* (New York: Chelsea House, 1975), pp. 481-485.

[22] *National Journal*, May 1, 1826.

[23] *National Intelligencer*, May 20, 1826.

[24] *House Report No. 79*, p. 21.

President John Quincy Adams, at Barbour's home. Clark maintained he gave the letter to Barbour to prevent the unsavory Mix from obtaining a new War Department contract.[25]

Prior to giving the letter to Barbour, Clark had shown it to Howes Goldsborough, who was competing against Mix for the War Department contract, and permitted him to copy it. Thornton had heard rumors of the letter's existence and traced Clark, with whom he had served in the War of 1812, to Williamson's Hotel and Tavern in Washington. Clark informed Thornton he had given the letter to the secretary of war, but he disclosed that Goldsborough had a copy and introduced the journalist to the contractor. Goldsborough gave the copy to Thornton, who went into a back room and dictated the letter's contents to an associate. Then he returned the the copy.[26] Clark said he had no desire to harm Calhoun,[27] but his authorship of the "Hancock" and "Young Rifle" articles makes the claim suspect.

Thornton's story was a curious mixture of factual reporting, based on his acquisition of Mix's letter and the use Clark made of it to kill Mix's chances of getting a War Department contract, and of anti-Calhoun political speculation. After reviewing the background of the "celebrated Elijah Mix, whose name has so often been associated with *Castle Calhoun* and the *Rip Raps*,"[28] the story said the War Department "was yesterday about to close a contract for a further supply of stone necessary to the completions of fortifications at Old Point Comfort, and that same Elijah Mix had made the lowest proposals."[29] Then Thornton wrote:

> (B)ut just when he and some of his particular friends in the Department thought that everything was as snug as heart could wish, a gentleman opportunely arrived from New York, and. . .blowed them *sky high*, sir, *sky high*![30]

---

[25] *Ibid*, p. 22.
[26] *Ibid*, pp. 22-23, 80-81, 105-106.
[27] *Ibid*, p. 21.
[28] *Phoenix Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1826 (italics in original).
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] *Ibid* (italics in original).

The story did not mention Clark by name, but it did identify him as the "author of several articles, signed Hancock (which appeared in the New York papers) scrutinising the official conduct of Mr. Calhoun while Secretary of War."[31]

The story noted the Mix alleged he had letters from Vandeventer in which the former War Department clerk acknowledged receiving $19,500 from the Rip Rap Shoal contract and admitting "a portion of which was. . .to be for Mr. Calhoun's use."[32] Thornton doubted Mix's veracity and wrote that "we acquit Mr. Calhoun of any participation in the *profits* of the contracts made by him."[33] Nevertheless, the journalist stated that "we are not disposed to acquit him of *connivance*, nor can be disbelieve the charge in relation to Mr. Vandeventer, who is the brother-in-law of Mix, until he shall have vindicated his character, and punished Mix for so unprincipled an outrage."[34] Thornton was unclear about what Calhoun connived at, but apparently he believed he was guilty of misconduct in allowing Vandeventer to buy interests in the Rip Rap Shoal contract.

The letter as published read in part:

> If any information is wanted on the subject of Mr. Calhoun's infidelity, I have it in my power, I think, to furnish you matter sufficient to awaken any unbiased mind, that he was concerned in the Rip Rap contract, either directly or indirectly; and I have written letters of Vandeventer's which most positively mention that he (Calhoun) was engaged, and received, some portion of the contract. I knew that Vandeventer was making traffic out of it.[35]

Thornton said the figure of $19,500 as the amount Vandeventer received was included in the story he wrote, but it was omitted inadvertently by a printer when the type was set.[36]

---

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid* (italics in original).

[34] *Ibid* (italics in original).

[35] *Ibid* (Calhoun's name in parentheses in original).

[36] *House Report No. 79*, p. 82.

INVESTIGATION OF THE STORY

The story represented a major threat to Calhoun's political career and caused him to audaciously call for the House of Representatives to make the "freest investigation. . .as the only means to effectually repel this premeditated attack to prostrate me, by forever destroying my character."[37] Speaking of the 24 hours culminating in the *Gazette* story, Calhoun said:

> (I)t was intimated to me that charges of a very serious nature against me were lodged in one of the Executive Departments. During the day, rumors from several quarters, to the same effect, reached me, but the first certain information of their character was received. . .through one of the newspapers of the District. It appears from its statement that I am accused of the sordid and infamous crime of participating in the profits of a contract formed with the Government, through the Department of War, while I was entrusted with the discharge of its duties, and that the accusation has been officially presented as the basis of an official act of the War Department, and, consequently, to be placed among its records, as a lasting stigma on my character.[38]

The original probe of the Rip Rap Shoal contract in 1822, in Calhoun's eyes, was an effort by political enemies, particularly Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford of Georgia, to smear him.[39] Now he believed Henry Clay, secretary of state in the Adams administration, was using the Rip Rap contract in an effort to forestall any future presidential candidacy by Calhoun.[40] The claim that the Mix letter had been placed in the War Department files provided grounds for a House investigation. It also became the basis for an attack on Calhoun by the pro-Clay *National Journal*, which accused the vice president of maligning Barbour.[41] There was justice in the complaint. Barbour had not placed the letter in official department files. Rather he had mailed in back to Clark.[42]

---

[37] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[38] *Ibid*.

[39] Wiltse, Charles M., *John C. Calhoun Nationalist, 1782-1828* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1944), p. 205.

[40] Bruns, p. 486.

The committee was composed of seven congressmen. Only two were political friends of Calhoun. The *United States Telegraph*, edited by the pro-Calhoun Duff Green, claimed the Adams administration was plotting "to prevent a full, free, and thorough investigation," but nevertheless it felt "confident of an acquittal, which, coming as it will do from persons, with two exceptions, his personal and political enemies, will reflect additional lustre on the hitherto spotless character of the Vice-President."[43] By contrast the *National Journal* described the investigation as an effort by Calhoun to gain "public sympathy, and to produce an impression that others, by the aid of low means and instruments, have endeavored to injure his reputation by false charges and calumny" and in doing so the South Carolinian had "indulged in insinuations, and thrown out imputations very injurious to other gentlemen."[44] The *Journal* did say "there is no reason whatever to believe Mr. Calhoun guilty of any personal participation in the Rip Rap contract."[45]

The political duel among national figures relegated the issue of from whom Thornton obtained the Mix letter to a sideshow. Nevertheless, the question was pursued by the House committee. Clark disclosed that Goldsborough was Thornton's source. However, he suggested that Thornton received a copy from another source and only used Goldsborough's copy for verification. Clark testified that when Thornton asked to see the letter:

> I replied, the letter was in the possession of the Secretary of War, and I retained no copy of it. He asked me, if there was no one in the city who had a copy. I told him Mr. Goldsborough had taken a copy, but whether he retained it, or had given it to the Secretary of War, I did not know. He then called on Mr.

---

[41] *National Journal*, Jan. 3, 1827.

[42] *House Report No. 79*, p. 2.

[43] *United States Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1827.

[44] *National Journal*, Jan. 8, 1827.

[45] *Ibid*.

> Goldsborough, and asked permission to see the copy. . .Mr. Goldsborough came to me and and asked me (we were all in the same room at supper, at Williamson's) if I had any objections to Captain Thornton seeing the copy. I said I had none.[46]

Clark then described how Thornton had gone into another room. He doubted that the journalist had enough time to make a copy. Upon returning to the room, Clark stated, Thornton:

> made some remark, which induced me to suppose he was connected with some newspaper, upon which I stated to him that I was ignorant of him being connected with any newspaper, and that, if he had made a copy of the letter, I would hope he would not publish it. That it was not my province to advise as to what editorial remarks he might think proper to make on Mr. Mix; but I should be very sorry, if the letter should ever appear in the public prints. It is my belief, that Mr. Thornton had a copy when he came there, and his object was to compare it, either with the original or another copy. . .I was very much surprized and displeased, when, next morning, I saw what purported to be a copy of the letter, in the newspaper.[47]

Clark's testimony about believing another copy---which could have been obtained only from Barbour---existed may be explained by his exposure to a libel prosecution by Calhoun.

Thornton testified that Clark provided him with a lengthy account of his "Hancock" and "Young Rifle" articles and of the history of the Mix letter. He said "(a)fter having received this history of the transaction, and informing Major Clark, that it was my intention to explain it in the Phoenix Gazette, I asked him if he had any objection to his name being used, or a reference made to him."[48] According to Thornton, Clark:

---

[46] *House Report No. 79*, p. 23.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

> said he had not, but it might, perhaps, be as well to use the name of "Hancock," which would answer the same purpose; since everybody knew he was the author of the communications in the New York papers, over that signature.[49]

Only then, according to Thornton, did he ask to see the Mix letter. He said Goldsborough had overheard his conversation with Clark and informed him that he had a copy. Thornton said Goldsborough told him he could "take a copy of it, under an injunction that his name was not to be referred to, since he expected that, if Mix lost the contract, he might possibly get it."[50] Then, Thornton stated, he took the letter into another room. He took only a short time in the other room, Thornton explained, because his clerk was there and he dictated the letter's contents to him.[51] Thornton had not referred to Goldsborough by name in his testimony until this exchange occurred with Reps. John Floyd, a Virginia Democrat and chairman of the committee, and John C. Wright, an Ohioan:

Question by Floyd: What is the name of the person from whom you received a copy of E. Mix's letter?

Answer: I do not remember; if I were to hear it repeated, it is probable I should remember it.

Question by Wright: Was it "Goldsborough?"

Answer: I believe it was.

Question by Floyd: Had you any assistance in writing the editorial article, accompanying the publication of E. Mix's letter; or did you ever consult any person about the propriety of publishing that letter?

Answer: I had no assistance; neither did I consult any person.[52]

---

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

When asked whom he informed of his intent to publish the Mix letter, Thornton replied, "I informed no person except Major Clark, Mr. Goldsborough, if that be the name of the gentleman, and my own clerk."[53] Whether Thornton had a lapse of memory or remembered that a journalist protects his source was left undetermined. The more likely answer is that Thornton wanted to shield Goldsborough's identity, but feared the sanctions that the congressmen might impose if he did so. His account varied from those of Clark and Goldsborough, who testified later.

Goldsborough said Clark introduced Thornton to him as "Major Thornton" and "I supposed. . .(he) was an officer in the army."[54] Upon learning that Thornton wanted to see it and receiving Clark's permission, Goldsborough said he gave the Mix letter to Thornton. He confirmed that Thornton had taken the letter into another room and a short time later came back and returned the letter.[55] Then Goldsborough testified:

> I asked Major Thornton who that gentleman was. . .He stated that he had formerly been an officer in the army; that he did not know, but believed he edited one of the Alexandria papers. I immediately replied to Clark, and during the absence of Thornton, that I was fearful he intended to publish it; that, if so, it met with my decided disapprobation. On Thornton's return to the room, I expressed to him, that I hoped he would not publish it, and bid him to recollect that I had nothing to do with publishing it, and that my name should have nothing to do with it.[56]

In answer to a question by Floyd, Goldsborough swore he did not pay any money to Clark for a copy of the letter or to the *Phoenix Gazette* for publishing it.[57]

---

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid*, p. 105.

[55] *Ibid*, p. 106.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

CONCLUSIONS

While the sideshow on journalistic privilege was being played out, the committee heard claims that Calhoun had profited from the Rip Rap Shoal contract. The committee found that a secret partner had an interest in the contract and that his identity remained a mystery, but it was "entirely satisfied that the secret partner was not the Vice President."[58] The committee reported that documents produced by Mix were forged or defaced. The congressmen said "they place no reliance whatever on the testimony of Elijah Mix," whom they described as having "infamy attached to his character."[59] Calhoun was satisfied and said the "foul conspiracy against my character has ended in shame for those who got it up."[60] The *United States Telegraph* crowed that "public anxiety has at length been relieved by a report which entirely acquits Mr. Calhoun."[61]

Thornton's disclosure of the identity of his source was a precedent few journalists would follow. During the first half of the 19th century, there was no concept of a legal right of a journalist to protect the identities of his sources. One scholar could find no instance in which a contemporary newspaper even reported---much less condemned---Thornton's disclosure of his source.[62] Not until 1848 was there a legal challenge to the power of Congress to compel a journalist to name his source.[63] Then the court, relying on *Anderson v. Dunn*,[64] upheld the power of Congress to imprison a journalist for refusing to name a source.[65] Nevertheless, while basing it on personal honor, journalists had established a practice of refusing to reveal the identity of sources. Only 15 years before Thornton named his source, Nathaniel Rounsavell had suffered confinement rather disclose the identity of his source. But Thornton's example was to be followed in 1835 by Sylvester S. Southworth, Washington correspondent of the New York *American*,[66] and in 1846 by Jesse Dow, publisher of the *Washington Times*.[67] However, in the long pattern of the history of conflicts between Congress and the press over journalistic privilege, Thornton's action was to prove the exception and not the rule.

---

[58] *Ibid*, p. 5.

[59] *Ibid*. The committee issued majority and minority reports, both of which rejected the corruption charges against Calhoun. The minority report minutely dissected and condemned the evidence presented against the vice president.

[60] John C. Calhoun to Rev. Moses Waddel, Feb. 24, 1827, in Bruns, p. 587.

[61] *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 14, 1827.

[62] Kaminski, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[63] Ex Parte Nugent, 18 Fed. Cas. 471 (C.C.D.C. 1848) (No. 10,375).

[64] 6 Wheaton 204.

[65] The power was limited to matters within the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress in Kilbourn v. Thompson, 103 U.S. 168 (1881).

The *Niles Weekly Register* of Baltimore was puzzled by the investigation and doubted that a sound precedent was set.

> It would seem from this precedent, that any member of congress who may have years ago, filled some office in the gift of the government, even so small a one as a village postmaster, if charged by *anybody* with improper conduct when in *that* office, can appeal to the house for a vindication of his character.[68]

Bruns concluded the "investigation significantly demonstrated how committee investigations can, occasionally upon mere whim, arise irrespective of any relationship to the legislative function of Congress."[69]

There was a larger context to the investigation than the whim of Congress or Calhoun's character. In the clash of national political interests and ambitions, the development of journalistic privilege, important to the watchdog function of the press, was harmed. In respect to the conduct of Thornton, the harm was inflicted by one of the press' own.

---

[66] U.S. Senate, Report No. 148, *op. cit.* Even without the Thornton precedent, Southworth likely would have exposed his source. The story involed an attempted assissination of President Andrew Jackson.

[67] U.S. Senate, Misc. Doc. 278, *op. cit.*

[68] *Niles Weekly Register*, Jan. 13, 1827 (italics in original).

[69] Bruns, p. 498.

CS

“Treason’s Biggest Victory”:

How the National News Magazines Covered the 1957 Supreme Court “Red Monday” Cases

Bradley J. Hamm
Ph.D. Student,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

10B Northampton Plaza Apts.
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

April 28, 1994

145

ABSTRACT

"Treason's Biggest Victory": How the National News Magazines Covered the 1957 Supreme Court "Red Monday" Cases

Bradley J. Hamm
10B Northampton Plaza Apts.
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Ph.D. Student,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
April 28, 1994

In the summer of 1957, Supreme Court justices did the unthinkable in the United States political climate: they publicly declared their support for the rights of Communists. Four times, in the same day, these men decided against national and state institutions and in favor of the "subversives." The response was overwhelmingly negative. This time, many said, the U.S. Supreme Court had gone too far in protecting individual rights. An angry Congress threatened restrictions on the Court's power. The American Bar Association denounced the decisions.

The response by the nation's three major weekly news magazines was equally negative. While one might expect the news media to be supportive of individual rights, or at least that there would be some differences in view among magazines, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* essentially told the United States citizens and politicians that the Supreme Court deserved their jeers.

This paper examines, through analysis of the coverage in the news magazines, the Court's decisions and subsequent reaction to the day that came to be known as "Red Monday." Very few positive sources were included in any of the news stories. Nearly all of the stories failed to include a single source, besides the justices themselves, who could be considered in favor of the case rulings, the plaintiffs or the justices. No columnist spoke in favor of the Court. While the three weekly news magazines varied in the amount of coverage devoted to the issue, there's little doubt that they shared, and, more importantly, delivered very similar views to more than four million subscribers.

With all three sources spreading essentially the same message, that the U.S. Supreme Court was wrong, to millions of readers, the national news magazines made it appear as if the only people in America who supported the decisions were either subversives or seven or eight old men wearing black robes in Washington, D.C.

"Treason's Biggest Victory":

How the National News Magazines Covered the 1957 Supreme Court "Red Monday" Cases

In the summer of 1957, Supreme Court justices did the unthinkable in the United States political climate: they publicly declared their support for the rights of Communists. Four times, in the same day, these men decided against national and state institutions and in favor of the "subversives."

The response was overwhelmingly negative. This time, many said, the U.S. Supreme Court had gone too far in protecting individual rights. An angry Congress threatened restrictions on the Court's power.[1] The American Bar Association denounced the decisions. President Eisenhower, who had nominated Chief Justice Earl Warren less than four years earlier, said, in a diplomatic manner, "Possibly in their latest series of decisions there are some that each of us has very great trouble understanding."[2]

The response by the nation's three major weekly news magazines was equally negative. While one might expect the news media to be supportive of individual rights, or at least that there would be some differences in view among magazines, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* essentially told the United States citizens and politicians that the Supreme Court deserved their jeers.

This paper examines, through analysis of the coverage in the news magazines, the Court's decisions and subsequent reaction to the day that came to be known as "Red Monday." All three magazines approached the issues from a fairly common perspective. All three outwardly opposed Communism. In fact, "*Time*'s regular readers) were presumably well indoctrinated with a robotized, self-righteous patriotism that included an automatic and undiscriminating hatred of Communism instead of the understanding of Communism that intelligent foreign relations would require."[3] *Time* founder Henry Luce had a "lifelong campaign to alert the nation against Communism."[4]

---

[1] Said the Democratic chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations committee, John L. McClellan, "It is apparent that they (the Supreme Court) have lent much comfort and encouragement to the Communists and the criminal elements in our country." Quoted in "The Court, Congress, Chaos," *Newsweek*, 1 July 1957, 20.

[2] "Eisenhower on the Role of the Supreme Court," *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 July 1957, 48.

Certainly, at the time, the issue captured the nation's attention. One news magazine referred to the subsequent fight by Congress against the Supreme Court as the "struggle of the century." Its editor, in his weekly column, said, "It is time to bring well-meaning but misguided justices to a realization that they cannot and must not expect to function in contempt of the Constitution itself and still remain in office."[5] The other two news magazines, while more restrained, nevertheless offered few views reflecting the other side of the debate.

The national news magazines stood firmly with the general public's view that Communists were unworthy of First Amendment protection. They failed to point out that the Court had, in perhaps the most significant of the four cases decided on "Red Monday," severely limited the Smith Act, which prohibited the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government. Of the Smith Act, Libertarian legal scholar Zechariah Chafee Jr. wrote: "Not until months later did I for one realize that this statute contains the most drastic freedom of speech ever enacted in the United States during peace."[6] The Smith Act limited freedom of speech and association, as applied to Communists, and, one scholar has argued, included restrictions on freedom of the press, too.[7]

The significance of the negative coverage of "Red Monday" cases by the three national magazines can be found in their roles in the 1950s. First, they had a combined circulation of more than 4.2 million. While there were larger national magazines at this time – a regular industry leader such as *Reader's Digest*, for example, had a circulation of 11.5 million[8] – *news* publications got a much smaller audience.

---

[3] W.A. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 384.

[4] Swanberg, 297.

[5] David Lawrence, "Good Behavior of Judges — Who Defines It?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 July 1957, 103.

[6] Zechariah Chafee Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 411.

[7] Don Pember, "The Smith Act as a Restraint on the Press," *Journalism Monographs*, No. 10, May 1969.

Time led the news magazines with a 2.1 million circulation,[9] easily outdistancing *Newsweek* at 1.1 million[10] and *U.S. News & World Report* at 922,000.[11] For a comparison among news outlets, *Newsweek* was nearly equal to the Sunday circulation of the New York *Times*,[12] so *Time* was almost twice as large. In more than half the states in the United States, the entire newspaper circulation combined was below 750,000, and only 16 states had combined circulations above one million. So 34 of the present-day 50 states[13] had newspaper circulations about equal to or below the smallest of the national news magazines, *U.S. News & World Report*.

Secondly, the magazines were hardly unbiased, but their style was such that some critics believed the public was mostly unaware of the subtle techniques used to slant a story. Journalist and media critic Ben Bagdikian considered the news magazines to be powerful spreaders of persuasion. "(They) have arisen in the present form only in this generation, a generation unprepared for the special forms of influence which the newsmagazines use." He compared the techniques to psychological approaches used in advertising. "By using many of these methods in the presentation of news interpretation, the newsmagazines are influencing a generation of middle-class voters who are extremely sensitive to conventional bias in newspaper stories but almost totally unaware of the new techniques in newsmagazines."[14] W.A. Swanberg, author of a well-known biography about *Time* founder Henry Luce, declared this style of presenting the news as the "Luce program of brainwashing."[15]

---

[8] *N.W. Ayer and Son's Directory 1958* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc., 1958), 1374.

[9] *Ayer*, 1374.

[10] *Ayer*, 1374.

[11] *Ayer*, 1373.

[12] Circulation figures for the New York *Times* are from the *Editor & Publisher 1958 International Yearbook* (New York: Editor & Publisher Inc., 1958), 109. While the *Times*' Sunday circulation was above one million, its weekday readership was much less at 570,000.

[13] *Editor & Publisher* did include Alaska and Hawaii on the same page where results were listed for the 48 mainland states. However, they were listed at the bottom, below the totals for the other states. The figures for Alaska and Hawaii were estimates.

Thirdly, public opinion research has indicated the importance on an individual's personal opinions and willingness to speak out when one view dominates in media messages. If the media, in this case the news magazines, reflect the same dominant view, then supporters of the Court or rights of Communists are likely to feel isolated and less likely to voice their opinions. In "spiral of silence" theory, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann says, "As a result (of one view's isolation), the views perceived to be dominant appear to gain even more ground and alternatives decline further."[16]

Taken together, the news magazines represented a substantial source for national news coverage. Each week they summarized the events in the nation and the world, covering primarily news, but also offering stories about sports, arts and entertainment and national trends. In June and July 1957 they brought coverage of the United States Supreme Court's Communism cases to the nearly four million subscribers and millions more "pass-along" readers, or readers, such as family members, who read the same magazine and together represented only one subscription.

The cases

Four key cases were decided on "Red Monday" by the Supreme Court:

■ *Watkins v. United States.*[17] The defendant, once a labor leader in a Communist-dominated union, had testified in 1954 before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and he answered all questions about himself. Watkins also agreed to testify against people whom he believed were at that time members of the Communist Party.

---

[14] Swanberg, 384.

[15] Swanberg, 385.

[16] Summary of spiral of silence theory in Denis McQuail and Sven Windahl, ***Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communications***, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1993), p. 116.

[17] 354 U.S. 178 (1957).

However, he refused to testify against his associates whom might have been once associated with Communism, but no longer were. Watkins was held in contempt, which was the typical charge in many of these committee cases. The decision was reversed by the Supreme Court, with only Justice Clark, a former U.S. Attorney General, dissenting.[18] The decision was a larger blow for Congress, because the majority opinion, delivered by Chief Justice Warren, questioned the authority of the committee (calling it "vague") and argued that it had no right to ask the questions it did.

Justice Clark's dissent said the committee's charter was no more vague than most other congressional committees, and that to impose a stricter standard on which specific questions a committee could ask would cripple investigatory efforts by legislative bodies.[19] Justice Brennan, appointed by Eisenhower in the fall of 1956, had been asked by Sen. McCarthy during Senate confirmation hearings about whether he approved of congressional investigations of Communists. He replied, "Not only do I approve, Senator, but personally I cannot think of a more important or vital objective of its committee investigations than that of rooting out subversives in government."[20] However, he sided with the majority.

■ *Sweezy v. New Hampshire.*[21] This case was a companion to *Watkins*. It involved a state conviction for contempt in a subversive activities investigation led by the state's attorney general. Prof. Paul M. Sweezy[22] was a lecturer at the University of New Hampshire, and he refused to answer certain questions about his political beliefs and activities. While he denied any Communist connections, Sweezy refused to answer questions about the content of a lecture he had delivered at the university, and he would not comment about any activities in the Progressive Party. The Court reversed the conviction. While *Watkins* dealt with congressional authority, *Sweezy* extended the the Court's questioning of investigative authority to the state legislatures. Justices Clark and Burton dissented.

---

[18] Justices Burton and Whittaker did not participate in the decision. Whittaker was appointed in March 1957 after Justice Reed the previous month, so he was not present when the "Red Monday" cases were argued before the Supreme Court.

[19] Nathaniel L. Nathanson, "Freedom of Association and the Quest for Internal Security: Conspiracy from Dennis to Dr. Spock," *Northwestern University Law Review*, (Chicago: Northwestern University School of Law, May-June 1970) 153-192. In *The Bill of Rights and American Legal History: Rights of Assembly, Petition, Arms and Just Compensation*. Paul L. Murphy, ed. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990) P. 355.

[20] "Same Old Joe," *Time*, 11 March 1957, 18.

[21] 354 U.S. 234 (1957).

[22] *Newsweek* incorrectly spelled his name as "Sweezey" in its July 1, 1957 article.

■ *Yates v. United States.*[23] In 1952, fourteen Communists in California were convicted under the Smith Act,[24] which barred the creation of organizations to advocate or teach the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence. The Court previously had upheld the Smith Act provisions in 1951.[25] This time, the Court ruled the convictions were based on improper instructions by the judge to the jury. The judge should have drawn a distinction between the teaching about the overthrow of the government as an abstract principle as compared with efforts or actions to overthrow the government, the majority said. The Court added that while the Smith Act barred organizing a group for the overthrow of the government, the Communist Party in California had been organized in 1945 and the statute of limitations thus had expired. Again, Justice Clark dissented with the reversal.[26] In sheer numbers, the *Yates* case was significant because in the decision the Court ordered the acquittal of five of the defendants and a new trial for the nine others.

■ *Service v. Dulles.*[27] John Stewart Service, a diplomat for the State Department, was one of Sen. Joseph McCarthy's targets in an attack on "Communists" in the State Department. He was dismissed in 1951 by then Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The Court ruled that Service was wrongfully dismissed because the State Department had overruled the findings of Service's own department when he was fired (he had been cleared six times in six years by the department's internal loyalty board), and thus regulations protecting an employee had been violated. This decision, unlike the other three, was unanimous among the eight justices who participated.

---

[23] 354 U.S. 298 (1957).

[24] The Smith Act was officially known as the Alien Registration Act of 1940. Among the press and public, though, it was called by its more popular name, the Smith Act.

[25] *Dennis v. United States*, 341 U.S. 494 (1951).

[26] Justices Black and Douglas disagreed with the part that permitted retrial of some defendants, while Justice Burton disagreed with part of the opinion that declared the statue's provision about organizing of groups referred to its "original" organization of the party in California, rather than continual efforts to organize, and therefore was no longer valid because of the statute of limitations. Justices Brennan and Whittaker did not participate in the decision.

[27] 354 U.S. 363 (1957).

The background

These four cases were among 95 decisions made by the Supreme Court that week. The attention given them, from the news media coverage to the title of "Red Monday," reflects public and government concerns in the 1950s about the threat of Communists in the United States. Fear about Communism had kept the nation's attention for several decades, but the stretch during the early 1950s was particularly memorable as Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin led a campaign to reveal Communist Party members and sympathizers throughout the nation, from government workers to public school teachers to famous film and theatre entertainers. The process turned into an ugly exchange of accusations, resulting in the damage of many lives and reputations of innocent people accused by McCarthy and his supporters.

A Congressional committee, known as the House Un-American Activities Committee, launched a series of hearings aimed at identifying Communists and sympathizers. Many people who were ordered to testify refused to answer parts or all of the questions from the committee, and they were held in contempt. Into this debate came the Warren Court, which already had made history with the groundbreaking civil rights case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, in 1954.

Despite McCarthy's rise and fall in five years, the national concern about Communism remained relatively steady. McCarthy had been censured in late 1954 by his U.S. Senate peers for his method of operation, and he lost his national platform for his Communism views. He spent the next several years by reducing his office hours and increasing time with his new wife and child. By 1957, McCarthy, at age 48, was in poor health, and he died in May of cirrhosis of the liver.

His campaign, or at least the one he made popular, continued. Public sentiment remained strongly against Communists. And in June, barely a month after the death of McCarthy, the Supreme Court released four decisions in one day about the rights of Communists. And all four decisions went in favor of the Communists and, thus, against powers of various government groups.

The Coverage

The apparent widespread outrage in Congress and across the nation was obvious in the news magazines, particularly *U.S. News & World Report*. Its cover on June 28, 1957 said: TURMOIL IN WASHINGTON. The cover was without even a picture. Only two headlines were below the magazine's logo, and the main headline was centered on the page, with the word "TURMOIL" fittingly printed in red ink. The second headline, at the bottom of the cover page, was equally as impressive: "Supreme Court — Congress — White House In the Struggle of the Century."

Time placed a photograph of Chief Justice Warren on its July 1, 1957 cover, and the headline simply said, "U.S. Supreme Court: The New Direction." *Newsweek*, by contrast, was more interested in the Boys of Summer, featuring baseball star Stan Musial on its cover, with the question, "Another Pennant for St. Louis?" Notice of the Supreme Court story rated only a half-inch at the bottom of the cover page. The headline said, without elaboration, "Supreme Court vs. Congress."

U.S. News & World Report's coverage in the first week was significant both in amount and tone. Eleven full pages were devoted to news coverage of the Court rulings and subsequent reaction and impact, while Editor David Lawrence added a three-page column, well beyond his usual limit of one page.[28] The titles conspicuously revealed the magazine's viewpoint: the main article was given the same headline as the front page cover, "Turmoil in Washington"; the second was titled "Here's How the Supreme Court is Stirring Things Up." And Lawrence's article was titled, "Treason's Biggest Victory."

The Court, one article said, was "asserting power in a way seldom before attempted in its long history, (and) is playing a major part in the growing turmoil in Washington." The decisions had led to new controversies, confusion about Communism cases, setbacks for the Justice Department and Congress, less power to fire federal employees, and, the article added, "Attorneys for people charged with criminal offenses are looking into new tactics that they may use for the defense of their clients." Thus, Congress was being "forced" to consider proposals to "try to restrain the powers of the courts."[29]

According to *U.S. News & World Report*, the decisions of a "freewheeling" Supreme Court, some policy battles between Congress and President Eisenhower, and the reaction against the Court by Congress had resulted in ultimate confusion. "Nobody knows, today, quite where anything in Government is headed. Guide posts of many kinds and of long standing are knocked down."[30]

Editor Lawrence was outraged at the justices' "epoch-making" decisions, and he quickly offered his support for limitations of the U.S. Supreme Court. "(The decisions) are so sweeping that for a long time to come the path of the traitor in our midst will be made easier — unless the appellate jurisdiction of the Court is limited, as the Constitution says it can be, 'under such regulations as the Congress shall make.' "[31] He declared the

---

[28] While Lawrence's columns can be found near the back of each magazine, they also have been gathered in a six-volume set titled *The Editorials of David Lawrence* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. News & World Report, Inc., 1970). Two related volumes are the fourth volume, covering "Reconstruction and the Cold War from 1945 to 1953, and the fifth volume, covering "the Eisenhower Years" from January 23, 1953 to January 16, 1961.

[29] "How the Court is Stirring Things Up," *U.S. News & World Report*, 28 June 1957, 32.

[30] "Turmoil in Washington," *U.S. News & World Report*, 28 June 1957, 25.

[31] David Lawrence, "Treason's Biggest Victory," *U.S. News & World Report*, 28 June 1957, 152.

Court's reasoning to be "legalism run riot," technicality glorified," and "caprice that defies realism."

Time devoted the first six pages of its "National Affairs" section to Court coverage, including photographs and short biographies of each of the nine justices. The difficulty for *Time*, which had favored civil rights reform by the Supreme Court, was to draw the line between rights for blacks and rights for Communists.[32] "If one effect of the Warren Court's drastic change was to broaden the area of civil liberties in the best tradition of U.S. constitutional law, another very practical – and measurable effect was to slow the prosecution of Communist leaders to a crawl," *Time* said. "... Good or bad, this was a consequence of a great moment. Perhaps it did indeed accurately reflect the lessening of Communist danger. *But the nature, spread and fabric of the decision indicated something more serious: that the present Court majority never thought Communism much of a problem anyway*(italics added)."[33]

Several Southerners gloated, in letters to the editor, about *Time*'s past support of the Warren Court's view of individual rights, in light of the Communism case decisions. "Congratulations on finally admitting the logic of the Southern argument against the Nine Sociologists, even though you still shove aside logic to cling to your legal unrealism on the [race] mixing decision," said Karl Elebash Jr. of Birmingham. All five letters included in the July 8 edition about the Court's decision were negative. One, from Alaska, asked simply: "Is there any ideal way we can legally get rid of Chief Justice Warren?"[34]

A recurring theme throughout *Time*'s coverage was this problem of supporting individual rights — and thus having to support the individual rights of Communists. The decisions actually placed the magazine's leaders in an awkward position of denouncing the Court's direction, much to the delight of Southern white readers, in particular, or backing down on their extensive past railing against Communism. Somewhere, *Time* had to draw a distinction that allowed for both of its past viewpoints. That distinction, whether valid or not, was in suggesting that the Supreme Court, in its decision, failed to acknowledge the danger of Communism. Publisher James A. Linen put it this way: "The difference between the headlines on the Supreme Court's historic decisions and the thousands of words of the rulings themselves was the difference between instinctive applause for the principle of civil rights reasserted and sober second thought about actual results achieved."[35]

---

[32] To *Time's* credit, it had offered some criticism of the Supreme Court's legal reasoning just two weeks prior to the "Red Monday" coverage. Said *Time*: "Many a legal observer could agree with the aims of the Supreme Court's legal idealism while regretting that it was not more firmly anchored in legal realism." Even in the historic Brown case, "many friends of desegregation were pained in their belief that the court relied on sociology texts instead of lawbooks and the Constitution of the U.S., (and) believed the same points could have been more firmly made through pure legal reasoning." "Decision Disputed," *Time*, 17 June 1957, 19.

[33] "The Supreme Court: The Temple Builder," *Time*, 1 July 1957, 13.

[34] Mrs. E. Torkilsen, "Letters," *Time*, 8 July 1957, 2.

The news article in the July 1 edition offered a similar view, reflecting the natural blend between editorial viewpoint and news coverage in *Time*. "Nowhere does the Court acknowledge a pertinent point: if the U.S. now has its freedoms intact and if Communism is less a clear and present danger, this can be partly explained by the fact that the U.S. chose to use the law (and spurn devices of Joe McCarthy) to cut Communists down to size. Instead, in its zeal for civil rights, the Court risked even the confusions of sudden reversals and redefinitions to cut the law down to size."[36]

It seems that *Time* was most irked at what it perceived as the sloppiness of the rulings. Pure, constitutional reasoning was praiseworthy; the 1957 cases were lacking this virtue, the magazine declared. A case several weeks earlier had "only the barest recognizable relationship between law and the findings." The article, heavy on *Time*'s consistent news "interpretation," concluded: "Confusing practice, no matter in what cause, can only damage the shape of a legal system painstakingly built, block by block, with the accumulated wisdom of ages."[37]

---

[35] James A. Linen, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 1 July 1957, 9.

[36] "The Supreme Court: The Temple Builder," 13-14.

[37] "The Supreme Court: The Temple Builder," 14.

Newsweek appears to have been caught off guard, or perhaps it was less interested, by the outcry. Along with its Stan Musial cover, *Newsweek* managed only two pages of coverage about the issue. While its story headline is catchy – "The Court, Congress, Chaos" – and reflects the mood, the story is only 16 paragraphs long (the text could all be fit on one page if the artwork is not included). A sidebar below the main story outlines the four cases and provides a paragraph explaining the meaning of each decision, as filtered through the magazine's interpretive lense.

Even columnist Raymond Moley, a contributing editor who had an extensive background in criminal law administration, managed only two partial sentences about the decisions – and he was already writing a legal column in preparation for the American Bar Association meeting scheduled that July in London. His "insight" consisted of saying that the recent cases "have created a constitutional crisis which gives added pertinence to a subject I had intended to consider this week." Considering standard journalism methods, it appears that Moley had completed his column ahead of time, as is normal, and attached a short mention about the new cases to appear timely.

In response to the *Watkins* decision, the main *Newsweek* story said that on Capitol Hill "there was an immediate wave of outraged indignation." The decision "impinged directly upon the traditional powers of Congress to investigate – a tradition accepted since the early days of the Republic." The article contained only one positive view about the Court's actions, and it was on the second page after criticisms from anonymous sources from the Department of Justice's criminal and antitrust divisions, and from Sen. John L. McClellan and Sen. Karl E. Mundt. In the Department of Justice and Congress, "*All* concerned asked 'What now?' (italics added)." The part that introduces the lone supportive view is interesting in its limits. *Newsweek* seems to indicate that no one else viewed the decisions in a positive manner, as its wording is singular. Its paragraph begins, "Dissenting Opinion: On the other hand there were cheers for the Court from ..." The supporter, Sen. Wayne Morse, called the ***Watkins*** decision a "historical monument in a glorious record of Supreme Court decisions protecting individual liberty."

About *Yates*, with its restrictions of the Smith Act, *Newsweek* declared: "It may become so difficult to convict a man under the Smith Act, the law could become a dead letter."[38]

The main theme for *Newsweek* was the confusion among other government officials in response to the Supreme Court. "As for the Department of Justice, the prevailing mood was sheer bafflement. That department had not yet recovered from the *Jencks* (several weeks earlier) case ruling when it was hit over the head by last week's Smith Act decree. Said one haggard Justice lawyer: 'Never but never has the government taken so many shellackings from the Supreme Court in one period.' "[39]

Newsweek's conclusion: "Until Congress, the Justice Department and the lower courts could adjust themselves to the highest tribunal's latest decisions, a period of legalistic chaos seemed inevitable. The limits of Congressional inquiry, the efficacy of the Smith Act, the sanctity of FBI files — all of these important aspects of government procedure would rest on suddenly uncertain foundations."

The Coverage: Week 2

With an extra week to think, *Newsweek* columnist Moley finally rendered his decision: Warren wrote a "long, rambling opinion. His segregation opinion was an essay in sociology; but this one invokes almost the entire undergraduate curriculum: Political science, sociology, history, ethics, psychology. *At odd moments there are bits of law* (italics added)."[40] He added that the Court interpreted the language of the Smith Act "so narrowly that it might seem hopeless to stamp out legally the organized Communist conspiracy in the United States."

---

[38] "Four Major Decisions — And What They Mean for the Future," *Newsweek*, 1 July 1957, 20.

[39] "The Court, Congress, Chaos," *Newsweek*, 1 July 1957, 20.

[40] Raymond Moley, "The Vice of Vagueness," *Newsweek*, 8 July 1957, 92.

Newsweek, still stingy with its space, again managed to cover the national debate in two pages. Its perspective was hardly hidden. The main headline said, "Objective — Order in the Law." One sidebar was titled "Surprising Critic of the Court"; another was "More Decisions — More Confusion." In fact, there wasn't a positive word or quotation to be found about the Supreme Court.

The first three letters to the editor printed in *Newsweek* on July 8 were about the Supreme Court decisions. Two of the three were written against the decisions. A New Jersey writer said, "What (this country) needs today is a brand new Supreme Court," and a writer from California asked, "What protection have we when our own Court renders us defenseless by such action?" The third writer, from New York City, said the Court had "struck a true blow for liberalism."[41]

Time, meanwhile, nearly avoided the issue. The magazine included a small article as a followup to the Court's decisions, though the five letters to the editor were the leading items of the letters section. Like *Newsweek* from the week before, *Time* decided that Americans were interested in "the tightest National League race in years," and so its cover story was about the Cincinnati Reds' baseball coach. The article about the Supreme Court was included in the weekly "National Affairs" section. It noted that the Court's "swerve into a new, liberal direction in dealing with cases bearing on the rights of individuals *v.* government last week brought swift executive, legislative and judicial reaction."[42]

Perhaps the strongest criticism in *Time*'s coverage came from New Hampshire's Attorney General Louis Wyman, who had been involved — and thus was on the losing end — in the *Sweezy* decision. Wyman said the Court "set the U.S. back 25 years in its attempt to make certain that those loyal to a foreign power cannot create another Trojan

---

[41] "The Supreme Court Today" in the "Letters," section, written by H.D. Glenn of Atlantic City, N.J., Mrs. Alex Lee Parker of Pasadena, Calif., and John Allen of New York City. *Newsweek*, 8 July 1957, 2.
[42] "After the Swerve," *Time*, 8 July 1957, 10.

Horse here." The Constitution, he added, had been "tortured out of rational historical proportion."[43]

It was for the Court, *Time* commented, "a scorching rarely heard north of Mason and Dixon." Still, the remainder of the five-paragraph coverage was relatively straightforward, and brief, in its announcement of several district court decisions related to Communism cases. The story did not include a source who expressed a positive view about the Court or its decisions. *Time* devoted more space to its coverage of the Roth obscenity decision that had been decided the previous week than it did to the response to the Communism cases and the Court's "swerve."

U.S. News & World Report, though, kept firing over the next several weeks. On July 5, the magazine included descriptions of sixteen Court decisions dealing with "subversives" from 1955 to July 1957; four of the cases were the ones decided on "Red Monday." Each case was allotted at least a paragraph of description, followed by a paragraph explaining the meaning of each decision. Some of the "meanings" were straightforward; others were filtered, such as concluding in one case that "government evidence must not contain the slightest blemish" in cases involving the Communist Party.[44]

Editor Lawrence examined whether justices could be removed from office. The Constitution says judges at all levels "shall hold their offices during good behavior," and Lawrence questioned who had the right to define good behavior. In his conclusion, since the Court couldn't judge itself, "logically" the president and Senate should define good behavior for Supreme Court justices. His first paragraph seems both analysis and threat, with the sentence, "The words 'life tenure' do not appear anywhere in the Constitution."[45] He concluded that action should be taken by Congress to both limit the powers of the Supreme Court and to define "good behavior" for the justices. "It is time to bring well-meaning but misguided Justices to a realization that they cannot and must not expect to function in contempt of the Constitution itself and still remain in office."[46]

---

[43] "After the Swerve," 10.

[44] What the Record Tells — Supreme Court and the Communist Threat," *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 July 1957, 46.

[45] David Lawrence, " 'Good Behavior' of Judges — Who Defines It?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 July 1957, 104.

Response

Congress offered a number of proposals, which met with little success once the rhetoric ended. Examples of proposals to restrict the Court's powers were: Removing all matters relating to schools (thus ending the Court's desegregation efforts), health and morals from federal court control; requiring reconfirmation of a justice by the Senate after 12 years, or, in another proposal, every four years; requiring justices to have served on lower federal courts or state supreme courts for at least five years; prohibiting the appointment of anyone who had held political office in the past five years; and prohibiting the U.S. Supreme Court from invalidating any state law without congressional approval.[47]

While the initial media reaction was swift and extremely negative, the coverage nearly disappeared by the third week after the decisions, except for the columns by editor Lawrence in *U.S. News & World Report*. Subsequent Court actions also were viewed negatively by the three national news magazines when concerned with Communism, but news space was devoted to many other national issues.

Chief Justice Warren, in his memoirs, said the Court was "assailed from every quarter for the Court's stand" on Communism issues.[48] In response to the *Yates* case, the Court was "soundly traduced for setting aside this outrageous conviction ..."[49] Unlike in many controversial cases played out in the media, the main targets in a Supreme Court story don't comment, except through their decisions. "The criticism becomes effective because it is a one-sided affair," Warren said. "Justices must take it in silence, leaving it to the people to form their own opinions concerning the Court's actions."

---

[46] "Good Behavior," 103. (Lawrence's columns began near the back and were continued to forward pages, making the numbers appear to be backwards when cited in relation to the introduction and conclusion of his text.)

[47] "What Congress is Doing to Curb the Supreme Court," *U.S. News & World Report*, 12 July 1957, 50.

[48] Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Earl Warren* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1977), 313.

[49] Warren, 319.

Warren said he generally accepted the denunciation as part of the job, without resentment, except for one particular case. The criticism was by the American Bar Association about the "Red Monday" cases. An ABA committee, at the meeting in London shortly after the decisions, charged that the Supreme Court was aiding the Communist cause. The committee's report received large play in newspapers and in *U.S. News & World Report*, which printed five full pages of excerpts from the report.[50] Warren promptly resigned from the ABA. His criticisms in his memoirs are about the ABA itself, not the press coverage of the report. Indeed, while Warren speaks in general terms about criticism of the Communism cases, he never specifically criticizes the press coverage.

Whether the threats by Congress had any effect, or whether the media and public reaction caused influence, it is noteworthy that almost two years to the day after "Red Monday" the Supreme Court reversed in June 1959 its consistent judicial support of Communists' rights in two Communism cases. In the most significant one, *Barenblatt v. United States*, the Court ruled 5-4 in favor of the government in a contempt case similar to *Watkins* involving the House Un-American Activities Committee investigation.[51]

The news magazines declared their support.

Said *Newsweek* in response to *Barenblatt*: "Last week ... the most controversial Supreme Court since the one President Roosevelt called "The Nine Old Men" served convincing notice that it was modifying its ways."[52] In past cases (the 1957 cases and others), the magazine said, critics had believed "the beneficiary was neither law, nor order, nor justice, but the Communist conspiracy." The new rulings reflected "more attention shown to the danger of the Communist conspiracy, and more sympathy" for congressional committees and the states. Among the reasons *Newsweek* cited for the change was "highly critical public opinion, which affects different justices to different degrees, but unquestionably affects them all because they are human."[53] The magazine included no comments from any source saying that these decisions were negative (besides the justices who dissented).

---

[50] "Supreme Court Rulings Criticized by Bar Association Committee," *U.S. News & World Report*, 16 August 1957, 135-139.

[51] 360 U.S. 109 (1959). Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan dissented. One distinction in this case, as compared with *Watkins*, is that Barenblatt had refused to answer questions about his own affiliations with the Communist Party.

[52] "High Court: Shift to the Right," *Newsweek*, 22 June 1959, 21.

While not quoting anyone by name, *U.S. News & World Report* said the decisions were "regarded by many members of Congress and lawyers as a sign that the Supreme Court now is inclined to exercise more 'judicial restraint' than had been indicated over the last five years."[54] Like *Newsweek*, the magazine did not include any comments from sources opposed to the decisions.

Conclusion

When one source in *Time* spoke against the Smith Act, the magazine, in its unmatched "interpretive" style, used the word "burbled" instead of "said."[55] It also called him "suety." When the source spoke of the efforts by the plaintiffs to appeal their cases to the Supreme Court, *Time* described it as the "new Red line that Communist martyrdom ... had broadened the liberties of all Americans." *Time*, without attribution to any source, responded: "More accurately, the Court had just considerably narrowed the law against the activities of Communist leaders." Even a photograph caption carried *Time*'s opinions. For a picture of four of the freed Communists in the *Yates* case, *Time* wrote underneath, "Organizers, but not 'organizers,' " a play on the Court's ruling that the

---

[53] "High Court," 22.

[54] "Is Supreme Court Changing Its Mind?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 22 June 1959, 50.

[55] "The Supreme Court: The Temple Builder," 14.

Communists were not organizers.

Very few positive sources were included in any of the news stories. Nearly all of the stories failed to include a single source, besides the justices themselves, who could be considered in favor of the case rulings, the plaintiffs or the justices. No columnist spoke in favor of the Court. While the three weekly news magazines varied in the amount of coverage devoted to the issue, there's little doubt that they shared, and, more importantly, delivered very similar views to more than four million subscribers.

It's interesting that none of the news magazines interviewed any plaintiffs in the cases. For example, the *Yates* decision freed five people from jail and ordered new trials for nine others. *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report* each included a picture of some of the plaintiffs, but there were no quotations in *any* story from any of the victors.

From an analysis of these national news magazines, it appears that nearly all politicians (with one isolated exception), the Department of Justice, the FBI, and even lawyers and law professors disagreed with the Court. With all three sources spreading essentially the same message, that the U.S. Supreme Court was wrong, to millions of readers, the national news magazines made it appear as if the only people in America who supported the decisions were either subversives or seven or eight old men wearing black robes in Washington, D.C.

CS

African Americans and the White-owned Mississippi Press:

An Analysis of Photographic Coverage from 1944 to 1984

Susan Weill
781 Broadmoor Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39206
Doctoral Student
University of Southern Mississippi
Department of Mass Communication

Submitted to the American Journalism Historians Association
1 May 1994

Abstract

In this study, African Americans and the White-owned Mississippi Press: An Analysis of Photo Coverage from 1944 to 1984, researchers content coded 488 photographs in eleven newspapers over a five decade period to determine the type and amount of coverage allocated to Mississippi's 39 percent African American population. This time sequence allowed analysis from historical viewpoints: 1944 (World War II); 1954 (*Brown vs. Board of Education*); 1964 (the Civil Rights Act); 1974 (school desegregation in the South); and 1984 (20 years after the passing of the Civil Rights Act).

Three primary research questions were explored: What type of photo coverage was allocated to African Americans over a 50 year period in white-owned Mississippi newspapers? Was African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s localized, or portrayed as "outside" activity, by photo coverage in the white-owned Mississippi press? And did photo coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans increase in the white-owned Mississippi press following the civil rights gains of the 1960s?

The study found that:

1) Photo coverage of African Americans was 46 percent "stereotypical," with 91 percent tiered "sports figures";
2) The 47 percent "everyday life" coverage of African Americans was tiered 74 percent "school and community activity," and did not appear consistently until the 1970s;
3) The seven percent "civil rights" coverage was primarily non-local, with "civil rights-related" photos sub-tiered 100 percent "violence";
4) Local civil rights photos featured the Ku Klux Klan and a firebombed home; and
5) "Everyday life" photo coverage increased substantially following the 1960s civil rights movement, from 15 percent in 1964, to 48 percent in 1984.

Slowly, African Americans were being incorporated onto the pages of the white-owned Mississippi press. But with a mere three percent of news hole allocated to them, the findings concur with the 1968 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders: "By failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine context of the total society, the news media have contributed to the black-white schism in this country" (283).

African Americans and the White-owned Mississippi Press:

An Analysis of Photographic Coverage from 1944 to 1984

Pulitzer prize-winning Southern journalist, Ira Harkey, remembers during the early 1950s, when policy at the New Orleans Times Picayune dictated that no African American was to appear--not even as a blurred face in a crowd--on the pages of the Times Picayune. "Photos of street scenes were scrupulously scanned by picture editors and every perceivably black face was either incised by scissors or erased by air brush" (52).

Harkey's observation of that Southern journalism practice was the motivation behind this study, in which researchers content coded photos in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers to determine the type and amount of photographic coverage allocated to African Americans over a 50 year period. Mississippi newspapers were prime for this study because the state is a black and white society, both ethnically and culturally. In 1860, the population of Mississippi was 791,000, including 437,000 slaves, who made up 55 percent of the population. In 1900, 35 years after the Civil War and four years after *Plessy vs. Ferguson* upheld the "separate but equal" Jim Crow laws, African Americans constituted 59 percent of the state's population. In 1920, when African Americans began to migrate northward in hope of a better life, their numbers dropped to 52 percent, and by 1980, African Americans comprised only 39 percent of Mississippi's 2,420,000 people. (Loewen 346, Appendix 13).

The white-owned Mississippi press is not atypical of the American press, since most media in the United States are owned by whites. Consequently, coverage is controlled by whites--and not just any whites. In 1983, Herbert Schmertz of Mobil explained, "If the public in this country were 95 percent white, 80 percent male, 93 percent college graduates, and 78 percent earned more than $30,000 a year, then maybe, just maybe, our leading journalists could support their claim to be surrogates for the public (Deming 256).

Nearly two decades earlier, Charles Daly, director of the University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, was in accord with Schmertz. In 1968, he observed, "The media still are almost exclusively shaped for the taste and--some would say prejudices--of white audiences. Almost all media in the United States are owned by whites. Since the nation is largely white, one might say there is no great problem, or say that even if there is a problem the situation is improving. There *is* a problem, and the situation is not improving fast enough" (Daly).

That same year, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission), noted, "If what the white American reads in the newspaper or sees on television conditions his expectations of what is ordinary and normal in the larger society, he will neither understand nor accept the black American. By failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine in the context of the total society, the news media have, we believe, contributed to the black-white schism in this country" (383).

To investigate concerns raised by the Kerner Commission and previous media studies, the time sequence selected for this study of the white-owned Mississippi press allowed analysis from historical viewpoints: 1944 (World War II); 1954 (*Brown vs. Board of Education*); 1964 (the Civil Rights Act); 1974 (school desegregation in the South); and 1984 (20 years after the passing of the Civil Rights Act). Three primary research questions were explored: What type of photographic coverage was allocated to African Americans over a 50 year period in white-owned Mississippi newspapers? Was African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s localized, or portrayed as "outside" activity by photographic coverage in the white-owned Mississippi press? And did photographic coverage of the everyday lives of African Americans increase in the white-owned Mississippi press following the civil rights gains of the 1960s?

Review of Related Studies

In 1932, Noel Gist conducted a study of African American news printed in 17 metropolitan newspapers to investigate whether the repetitious reading of anti-social news regarding African Americans tended to confirm stereotyped concepts already existing (405). Gist discovered that 46.9 percent of the African American news was devoted to anti-social activities, compared to 12 percent for whites, and he found that the most often reported anti-social act of African Americans was personal violence against whites. In fact, news of this type took up more than eight times the amount of space given to similar news when whites were the perpetrators (410). Gist believed the placement of news had significant impact on readers. If so, his documentation that approximately one-fourth (24.5 percent) of the space devoted to news of anti-social behavior by African Americans made the front page is a notable finding (411).

In the early 1950s, media researchers Gordon Allport and Leo Postman conducted an experiment where they showed a subject one picture of people on a subway car. One person in the photo was an African

American, the rest were white. A white man held a knife in his hand. The subject of the experiment looked at the picture and was asked to describe it to another person, who then described it to another. In over 50 percent of the experiments using white subjects, the final version had the African American, instead of the white man, flourishing the knife. "Among the possible explanations for this distortion, all were related to the subject's preconceptions about blacks," Allport wrote. (Merrill 183).

In 1970, Fred Fedler studied the Minneapolis press and found that minority pressure-groups receive more, not less, publicity than similar "established" associations. The research failed to advance Fedler's first hypothesis that newspapers devote more space to established groups than to comparable minority pressure-groups, including the United Negro College Fund (113). Compiled data did, however, support his hypothesis that coverage received by minority pressure-groups focuses most often on turbulence--photos in the "violence" category numbered zero with the established groups, but 12 for the minority pressure-groups (116).

In 1971, Guido H. Stempel III examined Time, Look, Newsweek, Life and U.S. News and World Report from 1960 and 1970, to compare news photos he coded "white only," "black only" and "both." In 1960, the magazines averaged 94.6 percent "white only" photos, 2.8 percent "black only," and 2.5 percent "both." In 1970, the magazines all tended toward more African American coverage and averaged 87.4 percent "white only," 6.9 percent "black only," and 5.6 percent "both." As Stempel summarized, "We can say that about one-eighth of our population is black and about one-eighth of the news pictures in these magazines have blacks. On the other hand, we should consider the implication that the black who reads these magazines sees 19 pictures showing blacks and whites separate for every picture he sees showing blacks and whites together" (339).

In 1982, Mary Sentman analyzed issues of Life magazine from 1937, '42, '47, '52, '57, '62, '67 and '72, to document coverage of African Americans. The complete time span of the magazine (1937 - 1972) was thus appraised. Sentman found that coverage of African Americans in Life failed to show a substantial increase over time--from a low of .3 percent of total coverage in 1947 to a high of 2.7 percent in 1972. In 1972, however, 84 percent of the issues had some level of African American coverage compared to a low of 25 percent in 1947. The percentage of Life issues with coverage pertaining to African Americans during the study totaled 44 percent (505).

African Americans were featured on two Life covers in 1937. One cover showed African American children playing (July 19) and the other was an African American man taking watermelons to market (Aug. 9). In the Aug. 9 issue, a photo showed an African American woman eating watermelon while breastfeeding an infant. The caption said, "Nothing makes a Negroe's mouth water like a luscious fresh-picked melon. Any colored 'mammy' can hold a huge slice in one hand while holding her offspring in another. . ." (506).

Sentman concluded that Life failed to provide a thorough overview of African Americans during the years it was published (508).

Carolyn Martindale, in her 1986 book, The White Press and Black America, documented African American coverage in the New York Times, the Atlanta Constitution, the Boston Globe and the Chicago Tribune during the '50s, '60s and '70s. Coverage was coded into four main categories: "stereotypical," "everyday life," "civil rights-related" and "minority life." She concluded that the four newspapers provided little coverage of any type regarding African Americans in the 1950s, but the amount increased during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. During the 1970s, Martindale found that coverage by the papers had increased in the "everyday life" category, but total news hole coverage of African Americans was less than four percent in each of the four newspapers during the three time periods, and averaged two and a half percent (79). Martindale also established that African Americans were covered differently depending on where they resided in the United States. "During that period [1960s] the papers showed a reluctance to present blacks, except those in the South, as victims of injustice and oppression, as deserving of compassion, either in stories devoted to explaining black problems or in news stories about programs to alleviate the difficulties facing blacks" (105).

Overview of Prior Empirical Studies

The Martindale analysis, as well as those of Gist, Carter and Fedler, share a common and recurring theme: the press in the United States has covered African Americans insufficiently, and coverage has more often than not depicted African Americans in a stereotypical light--as criminals, athletes or entertainers. The researchers concur that coverage of African Americans has been deserving of criticism.

Methodology

This study was a photographic content analysis of white-owned Mississippi newspapers and their coverage of African Americans. The eleven newspapers selected for the study represented 8.7 percent of the state's 115 newspapers, which include 22 daily papers (19 percent), 88 weekly papers (77 percent), and five bi-weekly papers. The eleven newspapers accounted for 34 percent of the 1945 newspaper circulation in the state, 34 percent for 1954, 37 percent for 1964, 36 percent for 1974, and 32 percent for 1984 (Appendix 11). The newspapers analyzed were the Clarion-Ledger; the Jackson Daily News; the Delta Democrat-Times [Greenville]; the Enterprise-Journal [McComb]; the Hattiesburg American; the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal [Tupelo]; the Port Gibson Reveille; the Southern Herald [Liberty]; the Simpson County News [Mendenhall]; and the Tylertown Times. (See Appendix 11 for circulation figures.) The eleventh paper, the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star, was examined only during the first three decades of the study to examine the editorship of Ira Harkey (1949 - 1963).

One issue a week of each paper during a specific month of a given year was coded. The five-decade study included February 1944, August 1954, July 1964, October 1974 and March 1984. (The Chronicle-Star was coded in March 1944, August 1954 and May 1962.) During the 50 year period, 229 issues of the eleven newspapers were coded--47 in 1944; 47 in 1954; 4 in 1962; 45 in 1964; and 44 in 1984, comprising 5,162 pages. A total of 488 photos were coded (Appendix 12).

The unit of analysis was each photo in which an African American appeared, and the Martindale categories "stereotypical," "everyday life" and "civil rights," were used. Each photo was coded once into a main category and then tiered within that category. "Stereotypical" tiers were "anti-social," "entertainer" and "sports figure." "Everyday life" tiers were "community activity," "school activity," "religious activity," "personal achievement," "political activity," "disasters and tragedies" and "problems." "Civil rights" tiers were "protests," "riots," "white resistance to integration," "black resistance to integration," "white support of integration," "black support of integration," "civil rights gains" and "civil rights-related activity," which included sub-tiers "pro-civil rights," "anti-civil rights," "violence surrounding civil rights activities" and "legal and community problems due to civil rights laws."

Three coders worked together to categorize the 488 photos. Because column widths varied from paper to paper, each photo, including caption, was measured in square inches and counted once (Appendixes 1 and 2). Inter-coder reliability was .94 during the initial categorization of the 488 photos. The Holsti method was utilized and resulted in the 222 photos coded "stereotypical" with .93 reliability; 229 photos coded "everyday life" with .91 reliability; and 37 photos coded "civil rights" with .96 reliability.

Findings

This study explored three primary research questions: What type of photographic coverage was allocated to African Americans over a 50 year period in white-owned Mississippi newspapers? Was African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s localized, or portrayed as "outside" activity by photographic coverage in the white-owned Mississippi press? And did photographic coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans increase in the white-owned Mississippi press following the civil rights gains of the 1960s?

In answer to the first research question, 46 percent of photographic coverage allocated to African Americans was coded "stereotypical," with 91 percent tiered "sports figures" (Appendixes 3 and 4). The 47 percent "everyday life" coverage was tiered 74 percent "school and community activity" (Appendixes 5 and 6). The seven percent "civil rights" coverage appeared predominantly in 1964, the year in which "civil rights-related" photos sub-tiered 100 percent "violence" (Appendixes 7, 8 and 9). Of the 488 photos, 31 (or six percent) had front page placement in the various newspapers (Appendix 10).

In answer to the second research question, 100 percent of the "protesting" and "rioting" related to the civil rights movement was covered with photos from outside the state. Local photo coverage of the civil rights movement included three photos of the Ku Klux Klan in the Clarion-Ledger (7/5/64), tiered "white resistance," and four photos of a home and church fire-bombed in McComb, tiered "violence," in the Enterprise-Journal (7/8/64). The 1964 civil rights summer was portrayed as disruption in other parts of the country--or as resulting in violence and intimidation in Mississippi.

In answer to the third research question, "everyday life" photo coverage increased substantially following the 1960s civil rights movement, from 15 percent in 1964, to 48 percent in 1984. Slowly, but surely, the faces and lives of African American Mississippians were being incorporated into the day-to-day coverage of the white-owned press.

Findings of Individual Papers in the Study

Clarion-Ledger (Daily)

Published in Jackson, the state capital, (1940 population 62,107; 1980 population 202,895), the Clarion-Ledger has been distributed statewide from Hinds County since 1865, where the population has grown from 107,273 in 1940 (51.6 percent African American) to 250,998 in 1980 (45.7 percent African American). The Clarion-Ledger has a 1994 circulation of 110,000, making it the most widely circulated newspaper in the state. The size of the Sunday editions grew from ten pages in 1944, to 100 pages in 1984.

Now a Gannett paper, the Clarion-Ledger was published from 1920 to 1974 by the Hederman family, "Staunch Southern Baptists and political conservatives, [who] epitomize the white power structure in Mississippi," according to Edwin Williams in the Columbia Journalism Review (58).

In 1966, Time reported that the Clarion-Ledger (and the Jackson Daily News, which was purchased by the Hedermans in 1954) "Indulge in more 'Yankee-baiting and race-baiting than any other papers in the South" (Dixie Flamethrowers).

From 1944 to 1984, the Clarion-Ledger contained 107 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--39 percent "everyday life," 12 percent "civil rights" and 49 percent "stereotypical," of which 87 percent tiered "sports figure." The only front page photo of an African American in the issues coded of the Clarion-Ledger was of Mississippi football hero, Marcus Dupree (3/4/84).

In February 1944, there were no photos of African Americans, but an article titled, "Negro Remains Calm as Death Hour Nears," reported the condemned man as saying, "Father, the time ain't getting short, it done got short," as "his pearly white teeth glistened in the darkness of his cell" (2/8/44).

In August 1954, the first photo of African Americans coded in the Clarion-Ledger was captioned, "Equal but Separate Facilities," which showed an African American child drinking water at an outdoor fountain labeled "for colored folks" (8/1/54). In that same issue, Charles Hills editorialized, "The Negroes of this state want to move into white schools and they are drawing up ways of invading. It is too bad that Negro oldsters, who are so anxious to turn white over night, couldn't think first of their children instead of themselves. Unfortunately for them, the U.S. Supreme Court can only overturn man-made rules. The laws of nature are beyond even the Supreme Court" (8/1/54).

In July 1964, there were eight photos of African Americans, and all were coded "civil rights"--three of the Ku Klux Klan and five of protests and riots in New York. In an editorial that month, Florence Ogden wrote, "A TV reporter asked a witness in Harlem if unemployment was a problem. The man, seemingly a Negro, said 'Yes, most of them are unemployed. They wouldn't take a job if it was handed to them on a silver platter'" (7/26/64).

In October 1974, changes were taking place, perhaps due to the Gannett buyout. The first racially-integrated photo, a 4-H club event, was coded (10/6/74). There were 38 photos of African Americans, and 74 percent were "everyday life." One photo spread praised the accomplishments of a blind African American farmer in rural Mississippi (10/20/74).

In March 1984, more changes were seen. Of the 55 photos of African Americans, 75 percent were "stereotypical," tiered "sports figure," generally football or basketball action. Two of the three "civil rights" photos were tiered "civil rights gains"--quite a transformation from the "white resistance" photos of 1964.

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Clarion-Ledger was heavily sports-oriented (49%) and African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was not localized. Photographic coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans increased to 74 percent in the Clarion-Ledger following the civil rights gains of the 1960s, but fell again to 20 percent in 1984. Overall, photographic coverage of African Americans by the Clarion-Ledger underwent fairly drastic alterations during the five decades, but seemed insufficient compared to the percentage of African American Mississippians.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Clarion-Ledger during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	1 (17%)	0	10 (26%)	41 (75%)	52 (49%)
Everyday	0	3 (50%)	0	28 (74%)	11 (20%)	42 (39%)
Civil Rights	0	2 (33%)	8 (100%)	0	3 (5%)	13 (12%)

Delta Democrat-Times (Daily)

Published in Greenville (1940 population 20,892; 1980 population 40,613) the Delta-Democrat Times has been distributed in Washington County since 1868, where the population has risen from 67,576 in 1940 (72.5 percent African American) to 72,344 in 1980 (56.3 percent African American). The Delta Democrat-Times has a circulation of 12,565 (1993) and the size of the Sunday editions fluctuated from eight pages in 1944, to 32 pages in 1984.

During the first three decades of this study, the Delta Democrat-Times was edited and published by two of the most controversial editors of any Southern newspaper, Hodding Carter, Jr., and his son, Hodding Carter III. By today's standards, Hodding Carter, Jr., would be considered a social conservative, but during the '50s and '60s in Mississippi, he was considered a dangerously progressive thinker. Robert Hooker, in his 1971 master's thesis from Vanderbilt University, wrote, "No men in Mississippi during the early 1960s were as heatedly damned, or hastily defended, as the Hodding Carters of the Delta Democrat-Times. All over the state, mention of the family name brings a glint of approval to blacks' eyes, and the state's tiny liberal cadre looks to Greenville with gratitude" (263).

Hodding Carter, Jr., the only Mississippi editor with the dubious honor of being voted a "liar" by the state legislature, was an award-winning journalist. But his glory was often dampened by political sour grapes. Carter, no integrationist, recalled, "When I won a Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing in 1946, the late Theodore G. Bilbo, running for re-election to the U. S. Senate, told his listeners that 'no self-respecting Southern white man would accept a prize given by a bunch of nigger-loving, Yankeefied Communists for editorials advocating the mongrelization of the race'" (211).

From 1944 to 1984, the Delta Democrat-Times contained 67 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--51 percent "stereotypical," 48 percent "everyday life" and one percent "civil rights." Five front page photos were coded, two in 1974 and three in 1984 (Appendix 10). In February 1944, and August 1954, there were no photos of African Americans in issues coded, however, an article headlined "Desegregation Will Work in Spite of Fights," quoted future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall as saying, "Mix the students and some of them will call others black so-and-sos, or white so-and-sos, and they'll fight. But they'll be fighting over the noun, not the adjective" (8/8/54).

Three weeks later, a preview of a September 1954 Reader's Digest article by Carter was printed in the Delta Democrat-Times. "We in the South are hoping these conflicts will be minimized, if not averted, by the nation's and the Negro's realization that change must be gradual and at selective levels" (8/29/54).

In July 1964, the only photo coded was of the "Negro Community Center." That same month, Carter analyzed race relations in an editorial regarding the mistrial of a local rape case. "This was not the first instance in which a Negro in Mississippi has not been convicted when accused of raping a white woman. The hung jury was a healthy omen for color-blind justice in Mississippi. That five men had the integrity to stick to an undoubtedly unpopular position, at this time and place, renews our pride in our country and its citizens" (7/5/64).

In October 1974, there were 36 photos of African Americans, and the focus had changed. The first racially-integrated photo, a football team, appeared (10/13/74). Whereas in 1964, 100 percent of the African American photo coverage in the Delta Democrat-Times had been "everyday life," in 1974, 58 percent was "stereotypical" (95 percent "sports figure") and 42 percent was "everyday life." The Hodding Carters were no longer with the paper. In March 1984, there were 20 photos of African Americans, and the one "civil rights" photo showed the racially-integrated county Democratic caucus (3/18/84).

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Delta Democrat-Times was heavily sports-oriented and the 48 percent "everyday life" coverage was 88 percent "community and school activity." African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was not covered with any photos, but photographic coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans increased in the Delta Democrat-Times following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, photo coverage of African Americans was sparse compared to the 72 percent African American population in Washington County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Delta Democrat-Times during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	21 (58%)	13 (43%)	34 (51%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (100%)	15 (42%)	16 (53%)	32 (48%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (1%)

Enterprise-Journal (Daily)

Published in McComb (1940 population 9,898; 1980 population 12,331), the Enterprise-Journal has been distributed from Pike County since 1889, where the population has grown slightly from 35,002 in 1940 (44.8 percent African American) to 36,173 in 1980 (43.5 percent African American). The Enterprise-Journal has a circulation of 11,538 (1993). The size of the paper grew from six pages in 1944, to 24 pages in 1984.

Robert Hooker wrote, "Blacks in McComb generally count the Enterprise-Journal among their friends, while many whites view it askance. Among older Negroes especially, editor Oliver Emmerich enjoys high esteem and a place among the handful of whites most respected by the black community. In the early 1960s, they say, he made a difference" (260).

From 1944 to 1984, the Enterprise-Journal contained 38 photos pertaining to African Americans in the issues coded--37 percent "stereotypical," 42 percent "everyday life" and 21 percent "civil rights." All seven front page photos were "civil rights," five in 1974 (tiered "violence") and two in 1984 (tiered "civil rights gains").

In February 1944, and August 1954, there were no photos of African Americans in issues coded of the Enterprise-Journal. Emmerich editorialized in 1954 that the community should "capitalize at the grass roots level on the natural disinclination of the masses of both races to integrate in our public schools" (8/10/54).

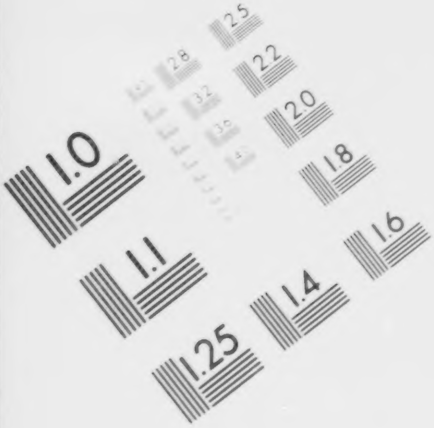
In July 1964, there were five photos of African Americans, all coded "civil rights," and three on the front page showed the destruction of a bombed house in the "quarters" (7/8/64). In October 1974, there were five photos of African Americans and the first racially-integrated photo, a high school youth congress, appeared (10/29/74). In March 1984, there were 28 photos of African Americans, and political activity was the theme of two front page photos, "Caucusing" (3/18/84) and "Jesse Jackson" (3/25/84). "Everyday life" coverage increased

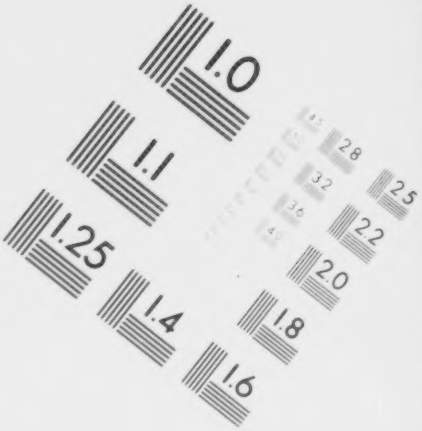
AIIM

Association for Information and Image Management

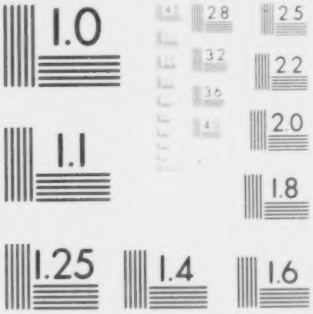
1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

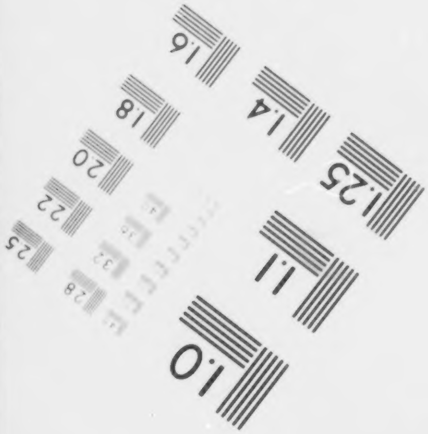
301-587-8202

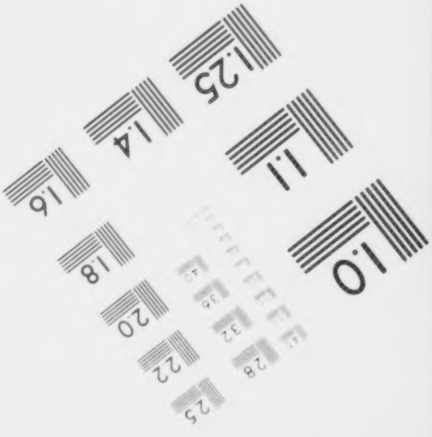

1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0

Centimeter
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
mm
1
2
3
4
5
Inches


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0


1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0

MANUFACTURED TO AIIM STANDARDS
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.

by ten photos in 1984, with seven "personal achievement" photos accounting for 54 percent of the "everyday life" coverage (Appendix 6).

In relation to the research questions addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Enterprise-Journal was predominantly sports-oriented. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was localized, but all tiered "violence." Photographic coverage relating to the "everyday lives" of African Americans increased substantially in the Enterprise-Journal following the civil rights gains of the 1960s, but overall coverage was low compared to the 43 percent African American population in Pike County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Enterprise-Journal during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	2 (40%)	12 (43%)	14 (37%)
Everyday	0	0	0	3 (60%)	13 (46%)	16 (42%)
Civil Rights	0	0	5 (100%)	0	3 (11%)	8 (21%)

Hattiesburg American (Daily)

Published in Hattiesburg (1940 population 21,026; 1980 population, 40,829), the Hattiesburg American has been distributed from Forest County since 1907, where the population has nearly doubled from a 1940 population of 34,901 (31.3 percent African American) to a 1980 population of 66,018 (27.7 percent African American). The Hattiesburg American, now a Gannett paper, has a circulation of 24,804 (1993) and the size of the paper grew from six pages in 1944, to 24 pages in 1984.

From 1944 to 1984, the Hattiesburg American contained 52 photos of African Americans in issues coded--two percent "civil rights," eight percent "everyday life" and 90 percent "stereotypical," of which 94 percent tiered "sports figure." There were no front page photos of African Americans.

In February 1944, August 1954, and July 1964, there no photos of African Americans in the issues coded of the Hattiesburg American. In July 1964, a guest editorial was titled, "Communist Conspiracy Behind Civil Rights Movement" (7/25/64). In October 1974, there were 34 photos of African Americans, although 97 percent of the photos coded were "sports figures." African Americans were definitely in the Hattiesburg news--if they were athletes.

In March 1984, there were 18 photos of African Americans, a nearly 50 percent decrease from 1974. It should be noted, however, that in 1984, "everyday life" photo coverage had increased and the first "civil rights" photo appeared, the county Democratic caucus (3/18/84).

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Hattiesburg American was 94 percent sports-oriented, more so than any other paper in this study. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was not covered. Photographic coverage relating to the "everyday lives" of African Americans, although only eight percent of total photo coverage, did increase in the Hattiesburg American following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, photo coverage of African Americans in the Hattiesburg American was meager considering the 27 percent African American population of Forest County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Hattiesburg American during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	33 (97%)	14 (78%)	47 (90%)
Everyday	0	0	0	1 (3%)	3 (17%)	4 (8%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (5%)	1 (2%)

Jackson Daily News (Daily)

Published in Jackson, the now defunct Jackson Daily News was distributed statewide from 1860 to 1989, when it was discontinued. The Sunday editions fluctuated from 22 pages in 1944, to 32 pages in 1984.

The Jackson Daily News was notorious for being "blatantly racist and violence-fanning" (Hooker 258). In 1954, Time described Jackson Daily News editor, Fred Sullens, as a man who "liked to boast how he beat up his complainants, and was once caned by former Governor Paul B. Johnson." When Sullens finally sold out to his arch rivals, the Hedermans, after a long court battle in 1954, Time reported that Sullens told his angry staff, "You may think I prostituted myself. If so, I'm the highest paid he-whore in Mississippi" (Revolt in Mississippi).

Ten years later, Time observed, "Many Southern papers now cover racial news with considerable accuracy and balance. The Jackson papers have not changed their attitude in half a century" (Integrating the News).

From 1944 to 1984, the Jackson Daily News contained 47 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--51 percent "stereotypical," 36 percent "everyday life," and 13 percent "civil rights." There were four front pages photos of African Americans, two of violent "civil rights" protests.

In February 1944, there were no photos of African Americans in the issues coded of the Jackson Daily News and in August 1954, there was only one, of school integration in New Mexico. That month, Fred Sullens wrote, "The great masses of Negroes in Mississippi are happy and content. They are not seeking social equality. The thinking colored people of Mississippi should listen to the sensible and conservative leaders of their race" (8/1/54).

In July 1964, there were four photos of African Americans, and one front page photo of an out-of-state civil rights protest captioned, "Riot in New York, Commies, Hate Groups Blamed" (7/22/64). A letter to the editor that month said, "An order to integrate the races is an order to begin administering a deadly poison to your civilization" (7/29/64).

In October 1974, there were 23 photos of African Americans, and a new ambience was evident. The first racially-integrated photo, a Boston busing protest, was printed (10/15/74). "Everyday life" coverage was up to 43 percent, and the first "stereotypical" photos were coded, praising African American entertainers and athletes. That same month, however, a letter to the editor regarding the state's prisons said, "It's tough, but forced [racial] mixing is the penalty for crime" (10/22/74).

In March 1984, there were 19 photos coded 94 percent "sports figures." A move possibly directed toward increased photo exposure for African Americans in the Jackson Daily News simply propagated athletic stereotyping. That same month, a front page article, "State NAACP in Need of Cash Donations" (3/22/84) almost seemed out of place in the Jackson Daily News. Times had, indeed, changed.

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Jackson Daily News was heavily sports-oriented. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was portrayed as "outside protests and riots" by photographic coverage, but the "everyday lives" of African Americans did experience increased coverage in the Jackson Daily News following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, photographic coverage of African Americans by the Jackson Daily News took a remarkable turn after 1964, but coverage went from non-existent to "stereotypical," and was limited compared to the 45 percent African American population in Hinds County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Jackson Daily News during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	11 (48%)	13 (68%)	24 (51%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (25%)	10 (43%)	6 (32%)	17 (36%)
Civil Rights	0	1 (100%)	3 (75%)	2 (9%)	0	6 (13%)

Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal (Daily)

Published in Tupelo (1940 population 8,212; 1980 population 23,905), the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal has been distributed in Lee County in northeastern Mississippi since 1870, where the population has grown significantly, from 38,838 in 1940 (31.4 percent African American) to 57,061 in 1980 (20.7 percent African American). The Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal has a circulation of 39,373 (1993) and the size of the paper grew from six pages in 1944, to 44 pages in 1984.

From 1944 to 1984, the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal contained 36 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--64 percent "stereotypical," 17 percent "everyday life," and 19 percent "civil rights." There were no front page photos of African Americans.

In the February 1944, there were no photos in the issues coded of the Northeast Mississippi Daily News, and in August 1954, there was one, an "everyday life" photo, tiered "personal accomplishment." That same month, Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson was reported in the paper as saying, "The whites of this state want no colored in-laws" (8/14/54).

In July 1964, the only photo printed was one of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., tiered "black support for integration"--one of the few such codings in this study. In October 1974, a major change in the number of photos occurred, and the first racially-integrated photo, a baseball team, was coded (10/1/74). Thirteen photos of African Americans appeared in the 1974 issues, and 86 percent tiered "sports figures." In March 1984, the number of African American photos had risen to 22, primarily in the "stereotypical" category.

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal was predominately "stereotypical" and focused on sports. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s, on the other hand, was 100 percent "out-of-state protest and riots" and not localized. Photographic coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans increased only minimally following the civil rights gains of the 1960s, and overall, photographic coverage of African Americans in the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal was meager compared to the 20 percent African American population in Lee County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	7 (58%)	16 (72%)	23 (64%)
Everyday	0	1 (100%)	0	2 (17%)	3 (14%)	6 (17%)
Civil Rights	0	0	1 (100%)	3 (25%)	3 (14%)	7 (19%)

Port Gibson Reveille (Weekly)

Published in Port Gibson (1940 population 2,748; 1980 population, 2,371), the Port Gibson Reveille has been distributed in Claiborne County since 1851, where the population has held steady, from 12,810 in 1940 (73.3 percent African American) to 12,279 in 1980 (74.9 percent African American). The Port Gibson Reveille is a small paper, both in size and in circulation (2,381 in 1993). In 1944, the paper was six pages; in 1984, it was 12 pages.

From 1944 to 1984, the Port Gibson Reveille contained 29 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--83 percent "everyday life," 14 percent "stereotypical" and three percent "civil rights." Of the six front page photos of African Americans, 83 percent were "everyday life" and focused on "personal achievement" and "community activity."

In February 1944, August 1954, and July 1964, there were no photos of African Americans in issues coded of the Port Gibson Reveille. A guest editorial by an African American minister stated, "Is integration in the schools here in Mississippi really a thing to be desired at this time? I should think not. Negroes do not want this any more than the whites do. We have a god-given racial identity which should be preserved. It is learned that there will be a tendency on the part of many Negroes to become imitators of white race characteristics. We are proud that we are Negroes, and this we desire to remain" (8/26/54).

A July 1964 editorial published in the Port Gibson Reveille during the investigation into the disappearance of civil rights workers Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, stated, "Of course we hope no foul play was committed against the three men who went to Neshoba County. [However] if 200 military personnel will be sent to Mississippi to look for three missing persons, then 12,600 U.S. Marshals should go to New York to look for their 188 missing persons" (7/2/64).

In October 1974, the first photos of African Americans were coded in the Port Gibson Reveille. The 13 photos were 69 percent "everyday life" and featured racially-integrated school news. Times were changing. In March 1984, the trend continued, with 94 percent of the photos coded "everyday life."

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Port Gibson Reveille had a high ratio of "everyday life" coverage, which increased substantially following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. On the other hand, African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was non-existent in the Port Gibson Reveille, as far as photographic coverage was concerned. Overall, photo coverage of African Americans in the Port Gibson Reveille did not reflect the Claiborne County African American population of 74 percent.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Port Gibson Reveille during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	4 (31%)	0	4 (14%)
Everyday	0	0	0	9 (69%)	15 (94%)	24 (83%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (3%)

Simpson County News (Daily)

Published in Mendenhall (1940 population 1,282; 1980 population 2,533), the Simpson County News has been distributed in Simpson County since 1872, where the population has grown from 22,024 in 1940 (32.2 percent African American) to 23,441 in 1980 (30.9 percent African American). The Simpson County News is a relatively small paper, in size as well as circulation (3,421 in 1993). In 1944 and '64, the paper was eight pages long; in 1954 and '74 it was 12 pages; and in 1984 it was 16 pages.

From 1944 to 1984, the Simpson County News contained 44 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--73 percent "everyday life," 27 percent "stereotypical" and no "civil rights." Three front page photos appeared, two in 1974 and one in 1984.

There were no photos of African Americans in the March 1944 issues coded. An editorial that month stated, "The country is being disturbed by too much race agitation. There is no cause for it. No good comes from it, harm does. The issue as to which is the superior race is not involved. As a matter of fact, no race is superior because of the color of its skin, but by intelligence, character and achievements" (2/23/44).

In the August 1954 issues, there were no photos of African Americans. That month, a letter to the editor protesting school desegregation, said, "The greatest [problem] of all is the sex problem. Mixing the white boys and the colored girls or the colored boys and the white girls. To me, this is unreasonable, unthinkable and pure stupidity. I am afraid we will come to a lake of blood, mixed blood because of ignorance poverty and forced associations" (8/5/54).

In July 1964, there were again no photos of African Americans, but in October 1974, the first photos of African Americans in the paper were coded. One front page photo showed an elderly man picking cotton (10/3/74), and another front page photo was the racially-integrated high school homecoming court, (10/10/74).

In March 1984, there were 33 photos, 82 percent coded "school-related activities." The first front page photos appeared. One showed African American jurors (3/8/84); one the high school science fair winner (3/1/84).

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Simpson County News increased dramatically in 1974. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was non-existent in photo coverage. But photographic coverage relating to the "everyday lives" of African Americans increased substantially following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, photo coverage of African Americans in the Simpson County News focused on "everyday lives," but was spotty when compared to the 30 percent African American population in the county.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Simpson County News during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	March/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	6 (55%)	6 (18%)	12 (27%)
Everyday	0	0	0	5 (45%)	27 (82%)	32 (73%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0

Southern Herald (Weekly)

Published in Liberty (1940 population 665; 1980 population 669) and one of the oldest Mississippi newspapers still in existence today, the Southern Herald has been distributed in Amite County since 1825, where the population has declined from a 1940 high of 21,892 (52.5 percent African American) to a 1980 low of 13,369 (47.6 percent African American). The Southern Herald is a small paper, in size as well as circulation (1,300 in 1993). In 1944, '54 and '64, the paper was four pages long; in 1974 and '84, it was eight pages long.

From 1944 to 1984, the Southern Herald published only two photos of African Americans in the issues coded--100 percent "everyday life." The one front page photo featured a local African American on a television program (3/22/84).

In August 1944, although there were no photos of African Americans, a front page article titled, "Negro Woman Kills Husband with Ice Pick," reported, "A negro [sic] woman was charged with the killing of her husband. A fuss is said to have started between the couple when the woman was chased some 300 yards by the husband with an ax handle in his hand. The woman ran into another negro [sic] house and as the man followed she pierced his heart with an ice pick, death was instantanous [sic]" (8/3/44).

In a 1944 letter to the editor, "Colored Friend Pays Tribute to Late E.R. Nunnery," an anonymous writer expressed African American sadness at the loss of a benefactor. "The colored people of this community have lost a friend. To whom now will they turn for refuge? He always seemed to respect the colored people. In this I speak for all colored people of this community" (8/31/44).

In March 1984, the only two photos coded in the Southern Herald appeared, both racially-integrated. One showed an African American man and a white man who were state employees (3/15/84). The front page photo was captioned, "Quorum Guest for ETV" (3/22/84).

In relation to the research questions being addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Southern Herald, was basically nil. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was not covered. And photographic coverage relating to the "everyday lives" of African Americans did not improve to any noticeable degree following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, photographic coverage of African Americans in the Southern Herald was virtually non-existent.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Southern Herald during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Aug/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Everyday	0	0	0	0	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0

Tylertown Times (Weekly)

Published in Tylertown (1940 population 1,376; 1980 population 1,976) the Tylertown Times has been distributed in Walthall County since 1907, where the population has declined from 17,534 in 1940 (46.5 percent African American) to 13,761 in 1980 (41.1 percent African American). The Tylertown Times is a relatively small paper, in size as well as circulation (3,950 in 1993). In 1944 and '54, it was eight pages; in 1964 it was 12 pages; and in 1974 and '84, it was 24 pages.

From 1944 to 1984, the Tylertown Times contained 66 photos of African Americans in the issues coded--18 percent "stereotypical," 82 percent "everyday life" and no "civil rights." There were four front pages photos of African Americans, all in October 1974.

In March 1944, there were no photos of African Americans in the issues coded of the Tylertown Times. That month, a guest editorial written by a local African American teacher, who maintained his support for separate but equal schools, said, "I am sure that generally, all people of all races appreciate segregation and the dual system. Negroes want a good school, not a mixed school" (2/10/44).

In August 1954, there were no photos of African Americans. That month, a front page editorial said, "The good Negro citizens in Walthall County want better schools naturally. They do not want mixed schools. Segregation in this area is just as natural as breathing" (8/12/54).

In July 1964, Paul Pittman was the editor of the Tylertown Times. In October 1962, following the bloody racial integration of the University of Mississippi, Newsweek had reported, "Editor Paul Pittman, of the Tylertown Times, mourned that 'today responsible voices have been raised in Mississippi, urging the end to violence. But these voices, my own included, have come too little too late" (Kill the Reporters, 100).

In July 1964, there was only one photo of an African American captioned "First Cotton of the Year" and coded "personal achievement" (7/23/64). That month, responding to civil rights activities in the area, Pittman editorialized, "If Mississippians were smart, they would conduct themselves in a manner that would give the Federal government no opportunity to get their hands on our affairs here in the state. But frankly, I have gotten pretty pessimistic about our chances of doing this" (7/2/64).

In October 1974, the number of photos of African Americans in the Tylertown Times jumped to 36, with 75 percent coded "everyday life," including one captioned "Rosa Remembers $3 a Week as the Rate," in a story about the life of a local African American woman (10/17/74). In 1974, the Tylertown Times also ran several columns written by local African Americans, "Comings and Goings," and "Salem School Scene."

In March 1984, 90 percent of the 29 photos of African Americans in the Tylertown Times portrayed "everyday life," including one of the gubernatorial appointment of a local African American to a state position (3/1/84). In 1984, two columns written by local African Americans, "By the Way" and " Spice of Life," were published weekly in the Tylertown Times.

In relation to the research questions addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Tylertown Times was 83 percent "community and school activity," nearly as high as the Port Gibson Reveille. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s was given no photographic coverage, but photographic coverage relating to the "everyday lives" of African Americans increased dramatically following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Overall, the photographic coverage of African Americans in the Tylertown Times was meager when compared to the 41 percent of African Americans in Walthall County.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Tylertown Times during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	9 (25%)	3 (10%)	12 (18%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (100%)	27 (75%)	26 (90%)	54 (82%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0

Chronicle Star

Published in Pascagoula, the Chronicle Star was distributed in Jackson County, where the population grew from 20,601 in 1940 (4,387 percent African American) to 55,522 in 1960 (19.5 percent African American). Issues of the Chronicle Star were analyzed for March 1944, August 1954, and May 1962, a year before the paper was sold by Ira Harkey, who edited the paper from June 1949 to July 1963. Harkey's editorship was examined to determine if his dismay with the New Orleans Times Picayune impacted his Chronicle-Star.

From 1944 to 1962, the Chronicle Star contained nine photos of African Americans in the issues coded--13 percent "stereotypical," 87 percent "everyday life" and no "civil rights." Two front page photos of African Americans appeared in 1962, both "personal achievement."

In March 1944, there were no photos of African Americans in the issues coded of the Chronicle Star. Harkey was not with the paper until 1949. In August 1954, there were one photo, of an African American sailor (8/13/54). In May 1962, when the Chronicle Star became a daily, 87 percent of the photos coded were "everyday life," including four of African American paperboys who delivered the Chronicle (5/4/62).

In relation to the research questions addressed by this study, the type of representation given to African Americans through photographic coverage in the Chronicle Star during the editorship of Ira Harkey was 87 percent "community activity," higher than the other ten newspapers in the study. African American involvement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s, however, was given no photographic coverage. But 1962 was two years prior to the heated summer of 1964. Overall, the photographic coverage of African Americans in the Chronicle Star was meager compared to the percentage of African Americans in Jackson County. In other words, although Harkey had a higher percentage of front page and "everyday life" photos of

African Americans in his newspaper, there was no greater photo coverage representation of African Americans in the Chronicle Star than in the other ten papers examined.

Photos pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in the Chronicle Star during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of the newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64
Stereotypical	0	0	1 (13%)
Everyday	0	1 (100%)	7 (87%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0

Conclusion

Looking back 100 years in Mississippi, George P. Hunt wrote, "In 1863, at the news of the Emancipation Proclamation, Horace Greely of the New York Times proclaimed in a headline, 'God Bless Abraham Lincoln.' Reacting to the same news, the Natchez (Mississippi) Courier declared, 'A monkey with his tail cut off is a monkey still'" (Fisher 13).

During World War II, when thousands of African American descendants of emancipated slaves fought and died for a country that still denied them complete citizenship, the military newspaper, "Stars and Stripes," ignored their sacrifice. Not one of the 216 front pages, from April 18, 1942 to October 6, 1945, featured an African American face (World War II Front Pages). Neither, however, did any of the eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers analyzed for this study.

In 1954, the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision to desegregate the public schools brought no support from the newspapers coded for this study, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act was portrayed photographically by the eleven newspapers as inciting violent upheaval.

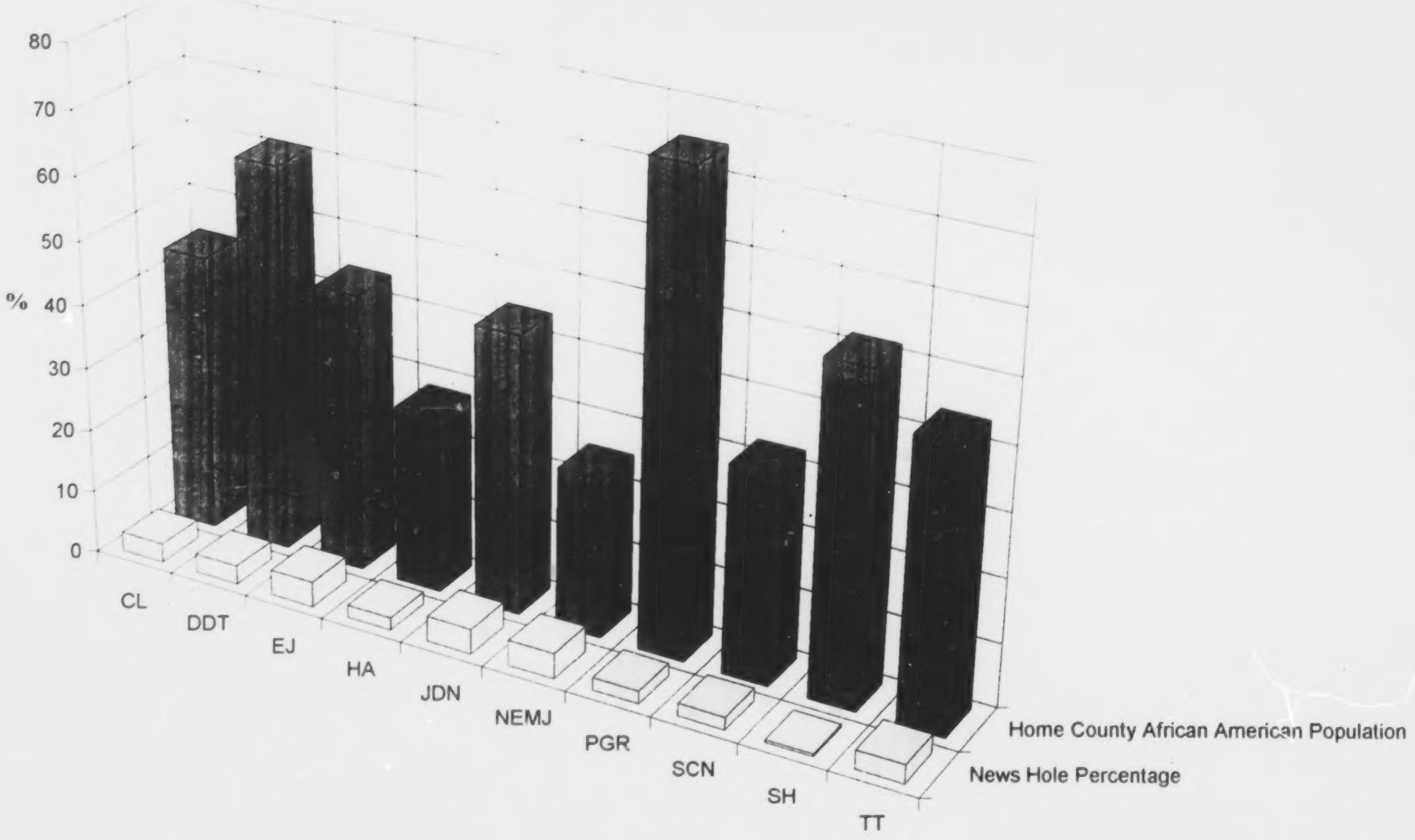
By 1974, however, a remarkable transformation had occurred. The photographic coverage of the racially-integrated schools had become a common feature in the majority of the eleven newspapers, and by 1984, 20 years after the passing of the Civil Rights Act, African American faces had become standard fare--particularly if the sports section was read.

The stereotypical view of African Americans as athletes was continually perpetuated in the eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers. But photographic coverage relating to the everyday lives of African Americans definitely increased in the white-owned Mississippi press following the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Slowly, but surely, the faces and lives of African American Mississippians were being incorporated into the day-to-day coverage of the white-owned press. Nonetheless, in relation to the three percent average news hole coverage allocated by each newspaper to information regarding African Americans, the photographic coverage of African Americans was similarly inadequate in the communities served by these newspapers (see Figure 1).

Carolyn Martindale's findings, as well as those of media researchers Gist, Allport, Postman, Carter, Fedler, Stempel and Sentman, share a common and recurring theme corroborated by the results of this study. As Martindale wrote, "The research reported by scholars seems to substantiate the criticisms of press coverage of black Americans expressed by black citizens, journalists and the Kerner Commission that indicates coverage of blacks in the first fifty or sixty years of this century fell far short of the social responsibility standards outlined by the Commission on Freedom of the Press" (69).

Figure 1

Coverage of African Americans in Ten Mississippi Newspapers, 1944-84
Compared to Home County African American Population



Appendix 1

Photographs pertaining to African Americans, regardless of square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Stereotypical	0	1 (17%)	0	10 (26%)	41 (75%)	52 (49%)
Everyday	0	3 (50%)	0	28 (74%)	11 (20%)	42 (39%)
Civil Rights	0	2 (33%)	8 (100%)	0	3 (5%)	13 (12%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	21 (58%)	13 (43%)	34 (51%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (100%)	15 (42%)	16 (53%)	32 (48%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (1%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	2 (40%)	12 (43%)	14 (37%)
Everyday	0	0	0	3 (60%)	13 (46%)	16 (42%)
Civil Rights	0	0	5 (100%)	0	3 (11%)	8 (21%)
Hattiesburg American						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	33 (97%)	14 (78%)	47 (90%)
Everyday	0	0	0	1 (3%)	3 (17%)	4 (8%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (5%)	1 (2%)
Jackson Daily News						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	11 (48%)	13 (68%)	24 (51%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (25%)	10 (43%)	6 (32%)	17 (36%)
Civil Rights	0	1 (100%)	3 (75%)	2 (9%)	0	6 (13%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	7 (58%)	16 (72%)	23 (64%)
Everyday	0	1 (100%)	0	2 (17%)	3 (14%)	6 (17%)
Civil Rights	0	0	1 (100%)	3 (25%)	3 (14%)	7 (19%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	4 (31%)	0	4 (14%)
Everyday	0	0	0	9 (69%)	15 (94%)	24 (83%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (3%)
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Stereotypical	0	0	0	6 (55%)	6 (18%)	12 (27%)
Everyday	0	0	0	5 (45%)	27 (82%)	32 (73%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Stereotypical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Everyday	0	0	0	0	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	9 (25%)	3 (10%)	12 (18%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (100%)	27 (75%)	26 (90%)	54 (82%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	1 (12%)	0	103 (50%)	118 (47%)	222 (46%)
Everyday	0	4 (50%)	3 (15%)	100 (48%)	122 (48%)	229 (47%)
Civil Rights	0	3 (38%)	17 (85%)	5 (2%)	12 (5%)	37 (7%)
Total	0 (100%)	8 (100%)	20 (100%)	208 (100%)	252 (100%)	488 (100%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Stereotypical	0	0	1 (13%)
Everyday	0	1 (100%)	7 (87%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0

Appendix 2

Photographic coverage of African Americans, in square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentage represents proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded per category for each time period.

	Feb/’44	Aug/’54	July/’64	Oct/’74	March/’84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Stereotypical	0	30 (14%)	0	287 (37%)	1,253 (85%)	1,570 (60%)
Everyday	0	123 (56%)	0	482 (63%)	165 (11%)	770 (29%)
Civil Rights	0	65 (30%)	170 (100%)	0	65 (4%)	300 (11%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	579 (63%)	276 (49%)	855 (57%)
Everyday	0	0	35 (100%)	336 (37%)	243 (44%)	614 (41%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	40 (7%)	40 (2%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	70 (33%)	308 (53%)	378 (40%)
Everyday	0	0	0	145 (67%)	230 (40%)	375 (39%)
Civil Rights	0	0	154 (100%)	0	43 (7%)	197 (21%)
Hattiesburg American						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	2,055 (97%)	389 (87%)	2,444 (95%)
Everyday	0	0	0	64 (3%)	37 (8%)	101 (4%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	24 (5%)	24 (1%)
Jackson Daily News						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	197 (31%)	458 (77%)	655 (47%)
Everyday	0	0	32 (24%)	379 (59%)	135 (23%)	546 (39%)
Civil Rights	0	24 (100%)	100 (76%)	63 (10%)	0	187 (14%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	198 (61%)	370 (78%)	568 (69%)
Everyday	0	16 (100%)	0	31 (10%)	66 (14%)	113 (13%)
Civil Rights	0	0	12 (100%)	95 (29%)	40 (8%)	147 (18%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	81 (34%)	0	81 (18%)
Everyday	0	0	0	157 (66%)	177 (81%)	334 (73%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	42 (19%)	42 (9%)
Simpson County News	(March/’44)					
Stereotypical	0	0	0	185 (57%)	108 (15%)	293 (28%)
Everyday	0	0	0	141 (43%)	630 (85%)	771 (72%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/’44)					
Stereotypical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Everyday	0	0	0	0	21 (100%)	21 (100%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Stereotypical	0	0	0	244 (31%)	92 (18%)	336 (26%)
Everyday	0	0	8 (100%)	535 (69%)	428 (82%)	971 (74%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0

Combined papers:	Feb/’44	Aug/’54	July/’64	Oct/’74	March/’84	Total
Stereotypical	0	30 (12%)	0	3,896 (62%)	3,254 (58%)	7,180 (56%)
Everyday	0	139 (54%)	75 (15%)	2,270 (36%)	2,132 (38%)	4,616 (36%)
Civil Rights	0	89 (34%)	436 (85%)	158 (2%)	254 (4%)	937 (8%)
Total	0 (100%)	258 (100%)	511 (100%)	6,324 (100%)	5,640 (100%)	12,733 (100%)

Chronicle Star	March/’44	Aug/’54	May/’62
Stereotypical	0	0	25 (31%)
Everyday	0	8 (100%)	56 (69%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0

Appendix 3

Photographs pertaining to "stereotypical" coverage of African Americans in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded "stereotypical" for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Quantity of photos	0	1 (17%)	0	10 (26%)	41 (75%)	52 (49%)
Square inches	0	30 (14%)	0	287 (37%)	1,253 (85%)	1,570 (60%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	21 (58%)	13 (43%)	34 (51%)
Square inches	0	0	0	579 (63%)	276 (49%)	855 (57%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	2 (40%)	12 (43%)	14 (37%)
Square inches	0	0	0	70 (33%)	308 (53%)	378 (40%)
Hattiesburg American						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	33 (97%)	14 (78%)	47 (90%)
Square inches	0	0	0	2,055 (97%)	389 (87%)	2,444 (95%)
Jackson Daily News						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	11 (48%)	13 (68%)	24 (51%)
Square inches	0	0	0	197 (31%)	458 (77%)	655 (47%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	7 (58%)	16 (72%)	23 (64%)
Square inches	0	0	0	198 (61%)	370 (78%)	568 (69%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	4 (31%)	0	4 (14%)
Square inches	0	0	0	81 (34%)	0	81 (18%)
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	6 (55%)	6 (18%)	12 (27%)
Square inches	0	0	0	185 (57%)	108 (15%)	293 (28%)
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	0	0
Square inches	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	9 (25%)	3 (10%)	12 (18%)
Square inches	0	0	0	244 (31%)	92 (18%)	336 (26%)

Combined newspapers' photo coverage coded stereotypical:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Quantity of photos	0	1 (12%)	0	103 (50%)	118 (47%)	222 (46%)
Square inches	0	30 (12%)	0	3,896 (62%)	3,254 (58%)	7,180 (56%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Quantity of photos	0	0	1 (13%)
Square inches	0	0	25 (31%)

Appendix 4

Tiered breakdown of photographs pertaining to "stereotypical" coverage of African Americans, regardless of square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentage represents proportion of coverage allocated to specific "stereotypical" tier over the five decades by each paper.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	1 (10%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)
Entertainers	0	1 (100%)	0	3 (30%)	1 (2%)	5 (10%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	6 (60%)	39 (96%)	45 (87%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	1 (5%)	0	1 (3%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	20 (95%)	13 (100%)	33 (97%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	0	2 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)
Hattiesburg American						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	3 (7%)	0	3 (6%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	30 (93%)	14 (100%)	44 (94%)
Jackson Daily News						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	5 (45%)	0	5 (21%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	6 (55%)	13 (100%)	19 (79%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	1 (14%)	1 (6%)	2 (9%)
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (4%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	6 (86%)	14 (88%)	20 (87%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	0	4 (100%)	0	4 (100%)
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	0	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	12 (100%)
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	0	9 (100%)	3 (100%)	12 (100%)

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Anti-social activity	0	0	0	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	4 (2%)
Entertainers	0	1 (100%)	0	12 (12%)	2 (2%)	15 (7%)
Sports figures	0	0	0	89 (86%)	114 (96%)	203 (91%)
Total	0	1 (100%)	0	103 (100%)	118 (100%)	222 (100%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Anti-social activity	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0
Sports figures	0	0	1 (100%)

Appendix 5

Photographs pertaining to "everyday life" coverage African Americans in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded "everyday life" for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Quantity of photos	0	3 (50%)	0	28 (74%)	11 (20%)	42 (39%)
Square inches	0	123 (56%)	0	482 (63%)	165 (11%)	770 (29%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	1 (100%)	15 (42%)	16 (53%)	32 (48%)
Square inches	0	0	35 (100%)	336 (37%)	243 (44%)	614 (41%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	3 (60%)	13 (46%)	16 (42%)
Square inches	0	0	0	145 (67%)	230 (40%)	375 (39%)
Hattiesburg American						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	1 (3%)	3 (17%)	4 (8%)
Square inches	0	0	0	64 (3%)	37 (8%)	101 (4%)
Jackson Daily News						
Quantity of photos	0	0	1 (25%)	10 (43%)	6 (32%)	17 (36%)
Square inches	0	0	32 (24%)	379 (59%)	135 (23%)	546 (39%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	1 (100%)	0	2 (18%)	3 (14%)	6 (17%)
Square inches	0	16 (100%)	0	31 (10%)	66 (14%)	113 (13%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	9 (69%)	15 (94%)	24 (83%)
Square inches	0	0	0	157 (66%)	177 (81%)	334 (73%)
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	5 (45%)	27 (82%)	32 (73%)
Square inches	0	0	0	141 (43%)	630 (85%)	771 (72%)
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Square inches	0	0	0	0	21 (100%)	21 (100%)
Tylertown Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	1 (100%)	27 (75%)	26 (90%)	54 (82%)
Square inches	0	0	8 (100%)	535 (69%)	428 (82%)	971 (74%)

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Quantity of photos	0	4 (50%)	3 (15%)	100 (48%)	122 (48%)	229 (47%)
Square inches	0	139 (54%)	75 (15%)	2,270 (36%)	2,132 (38%)	4,616 (36%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Quantity of photos	0	1 (100%)	7 (87%)
Square inches	0	8 (100%)	56 (69%)

Appendix 6

Tiered breakdown of photographs pertaining to "everyday life" coverage of African Americans, regardless of square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentage represents proportion of coverage allocated to specific "everyday life" tier over the five decades by each paper.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Community activity	0	2 (67%)	0	6 (21%)	3 (27%)	11 (26%)
School activity	0	1 (33%)	0	9 (32%)	0	10 (24%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	12 (43%)	6 (55%)	18 (43%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	1 (4%)	2 (18%)	3 (7%)
Delta Democrat-Times	0	0	0	0	0	
Community activity	0	0	1 (100%)	9 (60%)	6 (38%)	16 (50%)
School activity	0	0	0	4 (26%)	8 (50%)	12 (38%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	1 (7%)	1 (6%)	2 (6%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (3%)
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	1 (7%)	0	1 (3%)
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Enterprise-Journal					0	
Community activity	0		0	0	2 (15%)	2 (12%)
School activity	0	0	0	3 (100%)	4 (31%)	7 (44%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	0	7 (54%)	7 (44%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hattiesburg American					0	
Community activity	0	0	0	0	2 (67%)	2 (50%)
School activity	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (25%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	0	1 (33%)	1 (25%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson Daily News						
Community activity	0	0	0	9 (90%)	1 (17%)	10 (59%)
School activity	0	0	0	0	2 (33%)	2 (12%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (10%)	2 (33%)	4 (24%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	1 (17%)	1 (5%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Community activity	0	0	0	0	1 (33%)	1 (17%)
School activity	0	0	0	1 (50%)	0	1 (17%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (33%)	2 (33%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (34%)	2 (33%)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 6 (continued)	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Port Gibson Reveille						
Community activity	0	0	0	4 (44%)	6 (40%)	10 (42%)
School activity	0	0	0	5 (56%)	5 (33%)	10 (42%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	0	4 (27%)	4 (16%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Community activity	0	0	0	1 (20%)	1 (4%)	2 (6%)
School activity	0	0	0	2 (40%)	26 (96%)	28 (88%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	2 (40%)	0	2 (6%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Community activity	0	0	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
School activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Community activity	0	0	0	8 (30%)	15 (58%)	23 (43%)
School activity	0	0	0	14 (52%)	7 (27%)	21 (39%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	1 (100%)	5 (18%)	4 (15%)	10 (18%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Community activity	0	2 (50%)	1 (33%)	37 (37%)	38 (31%)	78 (34%)
School activity	0	1 (25%)	0	39 (39%)	52 (43%)	92 (40%)
Religious activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	1 (25%)	2 (67%)	21 (21%)	27 (22%)	51 (22%)
Political activity	0	0	0	0	1 (1%)	1 (.5%)
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0	1 (1%)	0	1 (.5%)
Problems	0	0	0	2 (2%)	4 (3%)	6 (3%)
Total	0	4 (100%)	3 (100%)	100 (100%)	122 (100%)	229 (100%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Community activity	0	1 (100%)	4 (57%)
School activity	0	0	0
Religious activity	0	0	0
Personal achievement	0	0	3 (43%)
Political activity	0	0	0
Disasters and tragedies	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0

Appendix 7

Photographs pertaining to "civil rights" coverage of African Americans in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentages represent proportion of each newspaper's photographic coverage coded "civil rights" for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Quantity of photos	0	2 (33%)	8 (100%)	0	3 (5%)	13 (12%)
Square inches	0	65 (30%)	170 (100%)	0	65 (4%)	300 (11%)
Delta Democrat-Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (1%)
Square inches	0	0	0	0	40 (7%)	40 (2%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	0	5 (100%)	0	3 (11%)	8 (21%)
Square inches	0	0	154 (100%)	0	43 (7%)	197 (21%)
Hattiesburg American						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	1 (5%)	1 (2%)
Square inches	0	0	0	0	24 (5%)	24 (1%)
Jackson Daily News						
Quantity of photos	0	1 (100%)	3 (75%)	2 (9%)	0	6 (13%)
Square inches	0	24 (100%)	100 (76%)	63 (10%)	0	187 (14%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Quantity of photos	0	0	1 (100%)	3 (25%)	3 (14%)	7 (19%)
Square inches	0	0	12 (100%)	95 (29%)	40 (8%)	147 (18%)
Port Gibson Reveille						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (3%)
Square inches	0	0	0	0	42 (19%)	42 (9%)
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	0	0
Square inches	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	0	0
Square inches	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Quantity of photos	0	0	0	0	0	0
Square inches	0	0	0	0	0	0

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Quantity of photos	0	3 (38%)	17 (85%)	5 (2%)	12 (5%)	37 (7%)
Square inches	0	89 (34%)	436 (85%)	158 (2%)	254 (4%)	937 (8%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Quantity of photos	0	0	0
Square inches	0	0	0

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 8

Photographs pertaining to coded tiers within "civil rights" coverage, regardless of square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Coding is "protest," "riots," "White resistance to integration," "Black resistance to integration," "White support of integration," "Black support of integration," "Civil rights gain," and "Civil rights related activity." Percentage represents proportion of coverage per category for each time period.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Protest	0	0	2 (25%)	0	0	2 (15%)
Riots	0	0	3 (37%)	0	1 (33%)	4 (31%)
White resistance	0	1 (50%)	3 (37%)	0	0	4 (31%)
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	1 (50%)	0	0	0	1 (8%)
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	2 (67%)	2 (15%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delta Democrat-Times						
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Enterprise-Journal						
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	3 (100%)	3 (37%)
Related activity	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	5 (63%)
Hattiesburg American						
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson Daily News						
Protest	0	0	1 (33%)	1 (50%)	0	2 (33%)
Riots	0	0	2 (67%)	0	0	2 (33%)
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (50%)	0	2 (34%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Protest	0	0	0	3 (100%)	0	3 (43%)
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (14%)
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	3 (100%)	3 (43%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 8 (con.)

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Port Gibson Reveille						
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	0	0
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	0	0
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Protest	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0	0	0	0
Related activity	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total for all papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Protest	0	0	3 (18%)	4 (80%)	0	7 (19%)
Riots	0	0	5 (29%)	0	1 (8%)	6 (16%)
White resistance	0	1 (33%)	3 (18%)	0	0	4 (11%)
Black resistance	0	0	0	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black support	0	1 (33%)	1 (16%)	0	0	2 (5%)
Civil rights gains	0	1 (34%)	0	1 (20%)	11 (92%)	13 (35%)
Related activity	0	0	5 (29%)	0	0	5 (14%)
Total	0	3 (100%)	17 (100%)	5 (100%)	12 (100%)	37 (100%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Protest	0	0	0
Riots	0	0	0
White resistance	0	0	0
Black resistance	0	0	0
White support	0	0	0
Black support	0	0	0
Civil rights gains	0	0	0
Related activity	0	0	0

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 9

"Civil rights" photographs coded into the tier, "civil rights-related," regardless of square inches, in eleven white-owned Mississippi newspapers. Coding is "pro-civil rights"; "anti-civil rights"; "violence surrounding civil rights activities," and "legal and community problems due to civil rights laws."

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delta Democrat-Times						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Enterprise-Journal						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	5 (100%)
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hattiesburg American						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson Daily News						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Port Gibson Reveille						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Simpson County News	(March/'44)					
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Herald	(Aug/'44)					
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tylertown Times						
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	0	0	0	0
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Pro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violence	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	5 (100%)
Problems	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	5 (100%)
Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/54	May/'62			
Pro	0	0	0			
Anti	0	0	0			
Violence	0	0	0			
Problems	0	0	0			

Appendix 10

Front page photographs, regardless of square inches, of African Americans in eleven Mississippi newspapers during five time periods. Percentage represents total front page proportion of coverage per category allocated by each paper over the five decades.

	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Clarion-Ledger						
Stereotypical					1 (100%)	1(100%)
Everyday						0
Civil Rights						0
Delta Democrat-Times						
Stereotypical				1 (50%)		1 (20%)
Everyday				1 (50%)	2 (67%)	3 (60%)
Civil Rights					1 (33%)	1 (20%)
Enterprise-Journal						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday						0
Civil Rights			5 (100%)		2 (100%)	7 (100%)
Hattiesburg American						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday						0
Civil Rights						0
Jackson Daily News						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday			1 (50%)		1 (100%)	2 (50%)
Civil Rights			1 (50%)	1 (100%)		2 (50%)
Northeast Miss. Journal						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday						0
Civil Rights						0
Port Gibson Reveille						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday				3 (100%)	2 (67%)	5 (83%)
Civil Rights					1 (33%)	1 (17%)
Simpson County News						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday				2 (100%)	1 (100%)	3 (100%)
Civil Rights						0
Southern Herald						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday					1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Civil Rights						0
Tylertown Times						
Stereotypical						0
Everyday				4 (100%)		4 (100%)
Civil Rights						0

Combined papers:	Feb/'44	Aug/'54	July/'64	Oct/'74	March/'84	Total
Stereotypical	0	0	0	1 (8%)	1 (9%)	2 (6%)
Everyday	0	0	1 (14%)	10 (82%)	7 (58%)	18 (58%)
Civil Rights	0	0	6 (86%)	1 (8%)	4 (33%)	11 (36%)

Chronicle Star	March/'44	Aug/'54	May/'62
Stereotypical	0	0	0
Everyday	0	0	2 (100%)
Civil Rights	0	0	0

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 11

Daily Circulation (Weekday)
of White-owned Mississippi Newspapers
Analyzed Over a Five Decade Period

	1945*	1954	1964	1974	1984
Chronicle Star	4,808	5,074	8,557 (1962)		
Clarion-Ledger	35,088	46,111	58,910	61,179	69,954
Delta Dem.-Times	6,068	11,013	13,314	17,833	15,776
Enterprise-Journal	4,086	5,108	6,084	10,131	12,844
Hattiesburg American	11,854	13,759	16,954	20,961	25,935
Jackson Daily News	30,102	40,336	53,694	47,821	39,487
N.E. Miss. Journal	8,831	11,617	17,667	36,101	33,994
Port Gib. Reveille	1,073	1,350	1,180	1,575	2,550
Simpson County News	2,000	2,247	1,916	2,431	3,790
Southern Herald	1,275	1,200	850	850	975
Tylertown Times	1,850	1,827	2,225	3,125	3,700
Total circulation of newspapers in study	107,035	139,642	181,351	202,007	209,005
Total circulation of all Mississippi newspapers	319,968	405,761	485,298	566,533	656,742
Percentage of statewide circulation represented by newspapers in study	34%	34%	37%	36%	32%

* 1944 N.W. Ayer and Son's Directory not available.

Appendix 12

Following are descriptions of photographs pertaining to African Americans in 11 Mississippi newspapers during five time periods (1944 - 1984), focusing on one issue of each paper per week during a selected month. The photo contents were coded stereotypical, everyday or civil rights. Each photo, including the caption, was measured in square inches.

		Content	Coded Rating
Chronicle-Star (9 total)			
March, 1944 (0)			
August, 1954 (1)			
8/13	Sec 2 Pg 5	"Sailor" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
May, 1962 (8)			
5/4	Sec 1 Pg 8	"Paperboy" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
5/4	Sec 1 Pg 8	"Paperboy" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
5/4	Sec 1 Pg 8	"Paperboy" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
5/4	Sec 1 Pg 9	"Paperboy" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
5/15	Sec 1 Pg 12	"Honored" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
5/23	Sec 1 Pg 8	"Female track star" (25")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
5/28	Front page	"Honored" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
5/28	Front page	"Honored" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
Clarion-Ledger (107 total)			
March, 1944 (0)			
August, 1954 (6)			
8/1	Sec 1 Pg 10	"Negroes demand integration" (35")	Civil rights/Black support
8/1	Sec 1 Pg 14	"Separate but equal facilities" (30")	Civil rights/White resistance
8/1	Sec 1 Pg 17	"French horn player" (30")	Everyday/School activity
8/15	Sec 3 Pg 8	"Negro convalescent hospital" (63")	Everyday/Community activity
8/22	Sec 1 Pg 13	"Eartha Kitt" (30")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
8/29	Sec 3 Pg 8	"Old Ladies' Home cook" (30")	Everyday/Community Activity
July, 1964 (8)			
7/5	Pg 10A	"KKK" ("15")	Civil rights/White resistance
7/5	Pg 10A	"KKK" ("20")	Civil rights/White resistance
7/5	Pg 10A	"KKK" ("20")	Civil rights/White resistance
7/26	Pg 6A	"NY rioting" (25")	Civil rights/Riots
7/26	Pg 6A	"NY rioting" (30")	Civil rights/Riots
7/26	Pg 6A	"NY rioting" (20")	Civil rights/Riots
7/26	Pg 2C	"Harlem protests" (35")	Civil rights/Protests
7/26	Pg 2C	"Harlem protests" (25")	Civil rights/Protests
October, 1974 (38)			
10/6	Pg 14A	"Board chair named" (6")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/6	Pg 4D	"College football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 5D	"Pro Baseball" (25")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 4E	"Musicians" (25")	Everyday/School activity
10/6	Pg 15E	"Family in poverty" (20")	Everyday/Problems
10/6	Pg 5G	"Fashion show" (15")	Everyday/Community activity
10/6	Pg 5G	"Fashion show" (15")	Everyday/Community activity
10/6	Pg 9E	"To play and sing" ("12")	Everyday/School activity
10/13	Pg 2A	"Woman editor speaks" (6")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/13	Pg 16A	"Three surrender" (25")	Stereotypical/Anti-social activity
10/13	Pg 9B	"Explorer scouts at fair" (20")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 2C	"Ella Fitzgerald" (15")	Stereotypical/Entertainer

10/20	Pg 19A	"Honorary mayor" (3")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 20A	"High school day at JSU" (36")	Everyday/School activity
10/20	Pg 20A	"High school day at JSU" (42")	Everyday/School activity
10/20	Pg 5B	"Alcorn foundation" (28")	Everyday/School activity
10/20	Pg 6C	"Ella Fitzgerald" (18")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/20	Pg 1E	"Blind farmer" (28")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 1E	"Blind farmer" (18")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 1E	"Blind farmer" (18")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 1E	"Blind farmer" (20")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 6E	"Honored" (6")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/20	Pg 8E	"Student at UM" (9")	Everyday/School activity
10/20	Pg 12E	"On Electric Company" (20")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/27	Pg 5A	"Speaker" (6")	Everyday/School activity
10/27	Pg 5C	"YWCA leaders" (20")	Everyday/Community activity
10/27	Pg 12C	"Sorority" (72")	Everyday/Community activity
10/27	Pg 1D	"Football action" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 2D	"Football action" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 3D	"Football action" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 5D	"Football action" (54")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 1E	"Artists in school" (15")	Everyday/School activity
10/27	Pg 6E	"Setting stage" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
10/27	Pg 6E	"Sewing" (12")	Everyday/School activity
10/27	Pg 11E	"Composer" (12")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/27	Pg 2H	"Honored" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/27	Pg 2H	"Honored" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/27	Pg 2H	"Honored" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
March, 1984 (55)			
3/4	Pg 1D	"Pro football" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (40")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (60")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (45")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (40")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 4D	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 5D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 5D	"Basketball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 6D	"Basketball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 7D	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 9D	"Pro football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 1E	"Hero" (72")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	Pg 8E	"Engagement" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
3/4	Pg 8E	"Engagement" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
3/4	Pg 10E	"Women foil robbery" (35")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	Pg 5I	"Honored" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	Pg 5I	"Honored" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	Front page	"Marcus Dupree" (4")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	1D	"Basketball, girls (70")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	1D	"Dupree" (6")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	3D	"Sports writer" (1")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	3D	"Basketball" (99")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	4D	"Basketball" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	5D	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	6D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

3/4	6D	"Basketball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	7D	"Basketball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	8D	"Basketball, girls" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	11D	"Track, woman" (48")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	13D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	7D	"Basketball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 14E	"Needs home" (20")	Everyday/Problems
3/18	Pg 3A	"Miami riots" (30")	Civil rights/Riots
3/18	Pg 15A	"Democrats register" (30")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 2B	"Shirley Chisolm" (5")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 1C	"Arrested" [Drawing] (60")	Stereotypical/Anti-social activity
3/18	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 2D	"Boxers" (48")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (9")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 3D	"Basketball" (50")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 4D	"Basketball" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 6D	"Basketball" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 7D	"Basketball" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 7D	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 8D	"Hard work honored" (4")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/25	Pg 2A	"Jackson Look Alike" (9")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
3/25	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (54")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 2D	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 4D	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 5D	"Football" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 5E	"Need home" (24")	Everyday/Problems
3/25	Pg 7E	"Engagement" (1")	Everyday/Community activity

Delta Democrat-Times (67 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (1)

7/12	Pg 20	"Negro community center" (35")	Everyday/Community activity

October, 1974 (36)

10/6	Pg 25	"Football" (16")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 26	"Football" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 3	"Self-help" (32")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 11	"Revenue sharing" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 11	"Revenue sharing" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 11	"Revenue sharing" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 17	"Wedding" (30")	Everyday/Community activity
10/13	Pg 22	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 23	"Football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 24	"Football" (16")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 25	"Football" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 30	"On TV" (30")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/20	Front page	"Spectator" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
10/20	Pg 5	"Morning after JSU killings" (16")	Everyday/Tragedy
10/20	Pg 10	"GHS homecoming" (35")	Everyday/School activity

10/20	Pg 12	"Club officers" (45")	Everyday/Community activity
10/20	Pg 19	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 20	"Football" (2")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 20	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 21	"Football" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 21	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 24	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 27	"Football" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 28	"Football" (4")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 40	"Car tags purchased" (27")	Everyday/Community activity
10/20	Pg 42	"PTA" (21")	Everyday/School activity
10/20	Pg 49	"DSU band" (21")	Everyday/School activity
10/27	Front page	"Football" (54")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 11	"Prison board" (28")	Everyday/Community Activity
10/27	Pg 15	"Honored" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/27	Pg 27	"Alcorn officers" (49")	Everyday/School activity
10/27	Pg 38	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 39	"Football" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 39	"Football" (45")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 40	"Football" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 40	"Football" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
March, 1984 (30)			
3/4	Pg 2B	"Founder's day" (4")	Everyday/School activity
3/4	Pg 10B	"Boy scout leaders" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
3/4	Pg 1C	"Dupree turns pro" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 1C	"Baseball" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 4C	"YMCA gym team" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
3/11	Front page	"Searched by Muslims" (24")	Everyday/Political activity
3/11	Pg 1B	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 2B	"Basketball, girls" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 3B	"Basketball" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 5B	"Athletes honored" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 3C	"HS key club" (12")	Everyday/School activity
3/11	Pg 8C	"MDJC Band" (35")	Everyday/School activity
3/18	Front page	"Caucusing" (40")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 7A	"Employee honored" (12")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/18	Pg 1B	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 1B	"Basketball" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 2B	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 3B	"Basketball" (9")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 5C	"Model" (6")	Everyday/Community activity
3/18	Pg 1D	"Breakfast support" (24")	Everyday/Community activity
3/25	Front page	"School wedding" (1")	Everyday/School activity
3/25	Pg 8A	"School wedding" (25")	Everyday/School activity
3/25	Pg 8A	"School wedding" (15")	Everyday/School activity
3/25	Pg 8A	"School wedding" (15")	Everyday/School activity
3/25	Pg 1B	"Wedding announcement" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/25	Pg 7B	"Art winners" (12")	Everyday/School activity
3/25	Pg 1C	"Basketball" (32")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 3C	"Basketball" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 3C	"Baseball" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 1D	"Working" (30")	Everyday/Community activity

Enterprise-Journal (38 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (5)

7/8	Front page	"Blast" (30")	Civil rights/Related activity
7/8	Front page	"Blast" (24")	Civil rights/Related activity
7/8	Front page	"Blast" (16")	Civil rights/Related activity
7/22	Front page	"Burned church" (48")	Civil rights/Related activity
7/22	Front page	"Scuffle in Harlem" (36")	Civil rights/Related activity

October, 1974 (5)

10/8	Pg 7	"Football" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/15	Pg 10	"Fire drill at Otken" (54")	Everyday/School activity
10/22	Pg 4	"Football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/29	Pg 3	"HS youth congress" (49")	Everyday/School activity
10/29	Pg 3	"Singers" (42")	Everyday/School activity

March, 1984 (28)

3/4	Pg 4A	"Dupree" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 1B	"HS musical" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/4	Pg 1B	"HS musical" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/4	Pg 1B	"HS musical" (42")	Everyday/School activity
3/4	Pg 1B	"HS musical" (24")	Everyday/School activity
3/4	Pg 6B	"Dentist, woman" (24")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/4	Pg 7B	"Pike county agent" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/11	Pg 4A	"Basketball, girls" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 4A	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 5A	"Basketball, girls" (60")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 5A	"Football" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 6A	"Basketball" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 6A	"Basketball" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 6A	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 1B	"Girl scouts" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
3/11	Pg 8B	"Pike county agent" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/11	Pg 6B	"Game winner" (28")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/18	Front page	"Caucus" (24")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 4A	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 5A	"Football" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 12A	"Debate at caucus" (15")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 3B	"Wedding announcement" (6")	Everyday/Community activity
3/18	Pg 6B	"Honored" (30")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/18	Pg 7B	"Pike county agent" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/25	Front page	"Jesse Jackson" (4")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/25	Pg 4A	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 6A	"Karate" (16")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/25	Pg 7B	"Pike county agent" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement

Hattiesburg American (52 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (0)

October, 1974 (34)

10/6	Pg 3C	"Football" (80")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

10/6	Pg 5C	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 6C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 6C	"Football" (45")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/6	Pg 8C	"Football" (88")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 3A	"Menus" (64")	Everyday/School activity
10/13	Pg 1C	"Football" (110")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 2C	"Football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 3C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 4C	"Baseball" (70")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 5C	"Football" (40")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 6C	"Football" (80")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/13	Pg 6F	"Mary Williams on TV" (25")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/13	Pg 14F	"Hattie Winston on TV" (30")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/20	Pg 1C	"Football" (70")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 1C	"Football" (100")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 5C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 5C	"Football" (77")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 6C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 7C	"Football" (90")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 7C	"Football" (50")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/20	Pg 8C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 6A	"Quotable women" (6")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/27	Pg 1C	"Football" (120")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 3C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 3C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 3C	"Football" (80")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 4C	"Football" (64")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 4C	"Football" (49")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 5C	"Football" (80")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 5C	"Football" (70")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 6C	"Football" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 7C	"Boxers" (56")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/27	Pg 8C	"Football" (50")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
March, 1984 (18)			
3/4	Pg 5B	"Columnist" (1")	Everyday/Community activity
3/4	Pg 1C	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 2C	"Baseball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 3C	"Baseball" (32")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/4	Pg 9C	"Football" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 1E	"Enjoys parade" (16")	Everyday/Community activity
3/11	Pg 10B	"CEO, Atari" (20")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/11	Pg 1C	"Basketball, girls" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 1C	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 2C	"Basketball" (16")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 3C	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/11	Pg 4C	"Football" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 2B	"Caucus" (24")	Civil Rights/Civil rights gains
3/18	Pg 1C	"Basketball" (48")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 1C	"Basketball" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 2C	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 2C	"Basketball" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/18	Pg 3C	"Basketball" (32")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

Jackson Daily News (47 total)

February, 1944 (0)			
August, 1954 (1)			
8/29	Sec 4 Pg 3	"Color line falls" (24")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
July, 1964 (4)			
7/7	Pg 6A	"Smashed by riot" (30")	Civil rights/Protest
7/15	Front page	"Man with snake he killed" (32")	Everyday/Personal acheivement
7/22	Front page	"Riot in NY" (35")	Civil rights/Riots
7/22	Pg 19A	"Riot injury in NY" (35")	Civil rights/Riots
October, 1974 (23)			
10/1	Pg 2A	"Boy with bear" (30")	Everyday/Community activity
10/1	Pg 5B	"Football" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/1	Pg 1C	"Crying child" (35")	Everyday/Community activity
10/1	Pg 6D	"New Stage play" (56")	Everyday/Community activity
10/1	Pg 6D	"Memoirs" (28")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/8	Pg 14A	"Player of the Week" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/8	Pg 6B	"Man at sorghum mill" (63")	Everyday/Community activity
10/15	Front page	"Protest in Boston" (35")	Civil rights/Protest
10/15	Pg 5A	"Charlie Pride" (15")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/15	Pg 4C	"Piano man" (24")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/15	Pg 6C	"Opera man" (15")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/15	Pg 7C	"Canton flea market" (30")	Everyday/Community activity
10/15	Pg 7C	"Canton flea market" (15")	Everyday/Community activity
10/22	Pg 7A	"Relief items" (42")	Everyday/Community activity
10/22	Pg 13A	"Football" (21")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/22	Pg 13A	"Football" (2")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/22	Pg 17A	"Art show" (40")	Everyday/Community activity
10/22	Pg 22A	"White Otella, black Desdemona" (40")	Everyday/Community activity
10/22	Pg 23A	"US Marshall training" (28")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
10/29	Pg 15A	"Football" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/29	Pg 16A	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/29	Pg 24A	"Sims sings" (12")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
10/29	Pg 26A	"Mary Lou Williams on TV" (18")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
March, 1984 (19)			
3/1	Pg 1C	"JSU prof" (36")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 1D	"Basketball, girls" (70")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/1	Pg 4D	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/1	Pg 5D	"Basketball" (48")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/1	Pg 6D	"Basketball" (45")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 3C	"Blind vendor robbed" (18")	Everyday/Problems
3/8	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (2")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 1D	"Basketball, girls" (50")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 1D	"Basketball" (2")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 4D	"Basketball" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 5D	"Basketball, girls" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/8	Pg 16D	"Basketball, girls" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Front page	"Guardian Angels" (42")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 1B	"Basketball" (45")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/22	Pg 1C	"Girl's project" (35")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/22	Pg 5C	"Austin named" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/22	Pg 7C	"JSU Hefner" (2")	Everyday/School activity

3/22	Pg 5D	"Basketball" (40")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/22	Pg 5D	"Basketball" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal (36 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (1)

8/28	Pg 3	"Honor" (16")	Everyday/Personal achievement

July, 1964 (1)

7/22	Pg 4	"MLK" (12")	Civil rights/Black support

October, 1974 (12)

10/1	Front page	"Busing demonstrators" (25")	Civil rights/Protest
10/1	Pg 15	"Baseball" (21")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/7	Pg 18	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/7	Pg 20	"Football" (25")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/14	Pg 4	"Boston protest" (45")	Civil rights/Protest
10/14	Pg 5	"Men surrender" (42")	Stereotypical/Anti-social
10/14	Pg 15	"Baseball" (25")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/14	Pg 17	"Baseball" (25")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/14	Pg 23	"HS seniors" (25")	Everyday/School activity
10/21	Pg 4	"Child in need" (6")	Everyday/Problems
10/21	Pg 18	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/28	Pg 8	"Boston protest" (25")	Civil rights/Protest

March, 1984 (22)

3/3	Pg 5	"Man makes good patient" (16")	Everyday/Problems
3/3	Pg 10	"Barbara Jordan" (8")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/3	Pg 20	"Basketball" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/3	Pg 20	"Basketball" (40")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/3	Pg 20	"Basketball" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/10	Pg 10	"Redd Foxx" (4")	Stereotypical/Entertainer
3/10	Pg 37	"Jesse Jackson" (12")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/10	Pg 20	"Basketball, girls" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/10	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/10	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/10	Pg 39	"Woman speaker" (2")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/17	Pg 4	"Love balloons" (48")	Everyday/Community activity
3/17	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/17	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/17	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (6")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/17	Pg 21	"Basketball, girls" (36")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/17	Pg 23	"Basketball" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/24	Pg 5	"Police composites" (24")	Stereotypical/Anti-social activity
3/24	Pg 26	"Basketball" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/24	Pg 26	"Basketball" (32")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/24	Pg 27	"Basketball" (32")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/24	Pg 39	"Democratic chair" (20")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains

Port Gibson Reveille (29 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (0)

October, 1974 (13)

10/10	Front page	"Homecoming" (20")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 4	"Bass Club" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
10/10	Pg 6	"Football" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/10	Pg 6	"Football" (15")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/17	Front page	"Worker" (20")	Everyday/Community activity
10/24	Front page	"Officers" (30")	Everyday/School activity
10/24	Pg 4	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/24	Pg 8	"Farming" (12")	Everyday/Community activity
10/24	Pg 9	"Farming" (25")	Everyday/Community activity
10/31	Pg 5	"Football" (16")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/31	Pg 6	"School evaluation" (20")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 6	"Alcorn's band" (9")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 9	"Primary school" (9")	Everyday/School activity

March, 1984 (16)

3/1	Pg 4	"Honored" (20")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/1	Pg 6	"Honored" (16")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/1	Pg 6	"Alcorn students" (6")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 11	"County agent" (1")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 7	"Students participate" (24")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 11	"County agent" (1")	Everyday/Community activity
3/15	Front page	"Brave rescue" (32")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/15	Pg 6	"Youth agent" (6")	Everyday/Community activity
3/15	Pg 11	"County agent" (1")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Front page	"Caucus" (42")	Civil rights/Civil rights gains
3/22	Pg 4	"School instruction" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 8	"STAR pupil" ("12")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 11	"County agent" (1")	Everyday/Community activity
3/29	Front page	"Fisherman's luck" (24")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/29	Pg 7	"School instruction" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/29	Pg 11	"County agent" (1")	Everyday/Community activity

Simpson County News (44 total)

March, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (0)

October, 1974 (11)

10/3	Front page	"Man picking cotton" (45")	Everyday/Community activity
10/3	Pg 3	"Nurse graduates" (25")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/3	Pg 9	"Player of week" (21")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/3	Pg 9	"Football" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/10	Front page	"HS homecoming" (42")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 4	"Homecoming queen" (25")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 9	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/17	Pg 7	"Player of week" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/24	Pg 7	"Football team" (49")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/31	Pg 8	"Woman appointed" (4")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/31	Pg 9	"Football team" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

March, 1984 (33)

3/1	Front page	"Science fair" (64")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (16")	Everyday/School activity

3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (12")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 10	"HS elections" (12")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Front page	"Jurors selected" (18")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 3B	"College internships" (20")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 7B	"School news" (36")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 7B	"School news" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 7B	"School news" (25")	Everyday/School activity
3/15	Pg 9	"Spelling Bee" (12")	Everyday/School activity
3/15	Pg 11	"School play" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball" (24")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball" (18")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball, girls" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 13	"Basketball, girls" (12")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/22	Pg 2B	"School event" (24")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 2B	"School event" (21")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 6B	"School event" (21")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 6B	"School event" (30")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 6B	"School event" (25")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 6B	"School event" (14")	Everyday/School activity
3/29	Pg 9A	"Spelling Bee" (20")	Everyday/School activity
3/29	Pg 10A	"Spelling Bee" (36")	Everyday/School activity
3/29	Pg 6B	"Spelling Bee" (20")	Everyday/School activity
3/29	Pg 6B	"Spelling Bee" (20")	Everyday/School activity

Southern Herald (2 total)

August, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (0)

October, 1974 (0)

March, 1984 (2)

3/15	Pg 8	"State employees" (9")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Front page	"Guests on ETV" (12")	Everyday/Personal achievement

Tylertown Times (66 total)

February, 1944 (0)

August, 1954 (0)

July, 1964 (1)

7/30	Pg 6	"First cotton of year" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement

October, 1974 (36)

10/3	Pg 4	"Football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/3	Pg 4	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/3	Pg 6	"Yard of Month" (32")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/3	Pg 6	"School columnist" (2")	Everyday/School activity
10/3	Pg 6	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
10/10	Pg 3	"HS event" (35")	Everyday/School activity

10/10	Pg 3	"School columnist" (2")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 4	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
10/10	Pg 10	"Cheerleaders" (42")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 10	"Football managers" (24")	Everyday/School activity
10/10	Pg 10	"Football" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/17	Front page	"HS homecoming" (42")	Everyday/School activity
10/17	Pg 4	"Honored" (40")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/17	Pg 6	"4-H week" (28")	Everyday/Community activity
10/17	Pg 8	"Football" (35")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/17	Pg 8	"Honored, woman" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/17	Pg 8	"Birthday" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
10/17	Pg 8	"School columnist" (2")	Everyday/School activity
10/17	Pg 8	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
10/24	Front page	"School program" (49")	Everyday/School activity
10/24	Pg 7	"School columnist" (2")	Everyday/School activity
10/24	Pg 8	"Humanities council" (28")	Everyday/Community activity
10/24	Pg 11	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/24	Pg 11	"Football player" (8")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/24	Pg 11	"Football" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/24	Pg 18	"Prentiss Institute" (20")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Front page	"Watching parade" (42")	Everyday/Community activity
10/31	Front page	"Homecoming court" (28")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 3	"HS event" (28")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 3	"School columnist" (2")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 4	"Educator speaks" (6")	Everyday/School activity
10/31	Pg 6	"Essay winners" (49")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/31	Pg 8	"Football" (28")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/31	Pg 8	"Football" (8")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
10/31	Pg 19	"Big potatoes" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
10/31	Pg 19	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
March, 1984 (29)			
3/1	Pg 4	"Appointed" (6")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/1	Pg 4	"Community columnist" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/1	Pg 17	"Youth attend" (36")	Everyday/School activity
3/1	Pg 17	"Award winner" (10")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/8	Pg 2	"Birthday" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 2	"Community columnist" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 2	"School event" (36")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 10	"School event" (24")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 10	"School event" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 12	"Wedding" (16")	Everyday/School activity
3/8	Pg 14	"Community columnist" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 15	"Youth activity" (32")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 15	"Youth activity" (32")	Everyday/Community activity
3/8	Pg 17	"Football" (42")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 11	"Community columnist" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/15	Pg 15	"Football" (20")	Stereotypical/Sports figure
3/15	Pg 18	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 4	"School event" (24")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 4	"School event" (32")	Everyday/School activity
3/22	Pg 4	"Community columnist" (4")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 14	"Baseball" (30")	Stereotypical/Sports figure

3/22	Pg 15	"4-H club event" (8")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 10	"Dog-trot house" (24")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 13	"Hospital workers" (30")	Everyday/Community activity
3/22	Pg 16	"Honored" (8")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/29	Pg 4	"Women's club" (36")	Everyday/Community activity
3/29	Pg 4	"Community columnist" (2")	Everyday/Community activity
3/29	Pg 9	"Turkey killed" (24")	Everyday/Personal achievement
3/29	Pg 10	"Birthday" (6")	Everyday/Community activity

Appendix 13

Populations of Areas included in Study

Calculated from MP&L's 1983 Mississippi Statistical Summary

(Blacks: African Americans; Others: Orientals, Hispanics, etc.)

Amite County Liberty (1940 population 665; 1980, population 669)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	11,559	10,438	8,443	6,949	6,373
Whites	10,333	8,823	7,130	6,814	6,996
Total	21,892	19,261	15,573	13,763	13,369
% blacks & others	52.8%	54.2%	54.2%	50.5%	47.6%

Claiborne County Port Gibson (1940 population 2,748; 1980 population, 2,371)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	9,399	8,934	8,245	7,550	9,205
Whites	3,411	3,010	2,600	2,536	3,074
Total	12,810	11,944	10,845	10,086	12,279
% blacks & others	73.3%	74.7%	76%	74.8%	74.9%

Forest County Hattiesburg (1940 population 21,026; 1980 population, 40,829)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	10,938	12,965	14,752	14,325	18,299
Whites	23,963	32,090	37,970	43,524	47,719
Total	34,901	45,055	52,722	57,849	66,018
% blacks & others	31.3%	28.7%	27.9%	24.7%	27.7%

Hinds County Jackson (1940 population 62,107; 1980 population 202,895)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	55,447	63,917	74,840	84,381	114,733
Whites	51,826	78,247	112,205	130,592	136,265
Total	107,273	142,164	187,045	214,973	250,998
% blacks & others	51.6%	44.4%	40%	39.2%	45.7%

Jackson County Pascagoula (1940 population 5,900; 1980 population 29,318)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	4,387	6,737	10,864	14,428	23,305
Whites	16,214	24,664	44,658	73,447	94,710
Total	20,601	31,401	55,522	87,975	118,015
% blacks & others	21.2%	21.4%	19.5%	16.4%	19.7%

Lee County Tupelo (1940 population 8,212; 1980 population 23,905)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	12,216	10,659	10,289	9,555	11,834
Whites	26,622	27,578	30,300	36,571	45,227
Total	38,838	38,237	40,589	46,126	57,061
% blacks & others	31.4%	27.8%	25.3%	20.7%	20.7%

Pike County McComb (1940 population 9,898; 1980 population 12,331)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	15,711	15,709	15,408	13,868	15,767
Whites	19,291	19,428	19,655	17,945	20,406
Total	35,002	35,137	35,063	31,813	36,173
% blacks & others	44.8%	44.7%	43.9%	43.5%	43.5%

Simpson County Mendenhall (1940 population 1,282; 1980 population 2,533)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	7,089	7,270	7,200	6,269	7,243
Whites	14,935	14,549	13,254	13,678	16,198
Total	22,024	21,819	20,454	19,947	23,441
% blacks & others	32.2%	33.3%	35.2%	31.4%	30.9%

Walthall County Tylertown (1940 population 1,376; 1980 population 1,976)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	8,162	7,166	6,100	5,097	5,666
Whites	9,372	8,397	7,412	7,403	8,095
Total	17,534	15,563	13,512	12,500	13,761
% blacks & others	46.5%	46%	45.1%	40.7%	41.1%

Washington County Greenville (1940 population 20,892; 1980 population 40,613))

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Blacks & others	49,008	47,068	43,399	38,778	40,725
Whites	18,568	23,436	35,239	31,803	31,619
Total	67,576	70,504	78,638	70,581	72,344
% blacks & others	72.5%	66.7%	55.2%	54.9%	56.3%

State of Mississippi

	Total Population	Whites	Blacks and Others	Percentage Black and Others
1940	2,183,796	1,106,327	1,077,469	49.3%
1950	2,179,914	1,188,632	990,282	45.4%
1960	2,178,141	1,257,546	920,595	42.2%
1970	2,216,994	1,393,339	823,655	37.1%
1980	2,520,638	1,615,190	905,448	35.9%

Works Cited

1974 Ayer Directory of Publications. 106th Annual Edition. Philadelphia: Ayer Press. 494 - 501.

Bramlett-Solomon, Sharon. "Civil Rights Vanguard in the Deep South: Newspaper Portrayals of Fannie Lou Hamer, 1964 - 1977." Journalism Quarterly. Fall 1991: 515 - 521.

Carter, Hodding Jr. First Person Rural. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1963.

Clarion-Ledger [Jackson]. Daily. Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1944; Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1954; July 5, 12, 19, and 26, 1964; Oct. 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1974; March 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1984.

Daly, Charles U., ed. The Media and the Cities. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Delta Democrat-Times [Greenville]. Daily. Feb. 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1944; Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1954; July 5, 12, 19, and 26, 1964; Oct. 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1974; March 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1984.

Deming, Caren J., and Samuel L. Becker, eds. Media and Society: Readings in Mass Communication. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1988.

"Dixie Flamethrowers." Time. 4 March 1966: 64.

Enterprise-Journal [McComb]. Daily. Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22, 1944; Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1954; July 1, 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1964; Oct. 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1974; March 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1984.

Fedler, Fred. "The Media and Minority Groups: A Study of Adequacy of Access." Journalism Quarterly. Spring 1973: 109 - 117.

Fisher, Paul and Ralph Lowenstein, eds. Race and the News Media. New York: Praeger, 1967.

Gist, Noel P. "The Negro in the Daily Press." Social Forces. March 1932. 405 - 411.

Harkey, Ira B. Jr. The Smell of Burning Crosses. Jacksonville, IL: Harris-Wolfe & Co., 1967.

Hattiesburg American. Daily. Feb. 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1944; Aug. 7, 14, 21 and 28, 1954; July 3, 11, 18 and 25, 1964; Oct. 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1974; March 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1984.

Hooker, Robert W. "Race and the News Media in Mississippi: 1962 - 64." Thesis. Vanderbilt University, 1971.

Hunt, George P. "The Racial Crisis and the News Media: an Overview." Fisher 11 - 20.

The IMS '84 Ayer Directory of Publications. 116th Annual Edition. Fort Washington, PA: IMS Press. 537 - 544.

"Integrating the News." Time. 21 June 1963: 45.

Jackson Daily News. Daily. Feb. 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1944; Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1954; July 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1964; Oct. 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1974; March 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1984.

"Kill the Reporters." Newsweek. 15 Oct. 1962: 99.

Loewen, James W., and Charles Sallis, eds. Mississippi: Conflict and Change. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Martindale, Carolyn. The White Press and Black America. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Mississippi Media Telephone Directory. Jackson: South Central Bell, 1992.

Mississippi Statistical Summary of Population 1800 - 1980. Mississippi Power and Light Company Economic Research Department, 1983.

N.W. Ayer and Son's Directory [of] Newspapers and Periodicals 1945 77th Annual Edition. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son.

N.W. Ayer and Son's Directory [of] Newspapers and Periodicals 1954. 86th Annual Edition. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son. 516 - 527.

N.W. Ayer and Son's Directory [of] Newspapers and Periodicals 1964. 96th Annual Edition. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son. 552 - 563.

Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal [Tupelo]. Daily. Feb. 5, 12, 19, 26, 1944; Aug. 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1954; July 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1964; Oct. 7, 14, 21 and 28, 1974; March 3-4, 10-11, 17-18 and 24-25, 1984.

[Pascagoula] Chronicle-Star. (Weekly/'44, Semi-weekly/'54, Daily/'62) March 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1944; Aug. 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1954; May 4, 15, 23 and 28, 1962.

Port Gibson Reveille. Weekly. Feb. 3, 10, 17 and 24, 1944; Aug. 5, 12, (no issue on 19th) and 26, 1954; July 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1964; Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1974; March 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1984.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: New York Times Co., 1968.

"Revolt in Mississippi." *Time*. 8 Nov. 1954: 60.

Sentman, Mary Alice. "Black and White: Disparity of Coverage by Life Magazine from 1937 to 1972." *Journalism Quarterly*. Fall 1983. 501-508.

Simpson County News [Mendenhall]. Weekly. March (Feb. not available) 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1944; Aug. 5, 12, 19 and 27, 1954; July 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1964; Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1974; March 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1984.

Southern Herald [Liberty]. Weekly. Aug. (Feb. not available) 3, (no issue on 10th), 17, 24 and 31, 1944; Aug. (no issue found for 7th) 12, 19 and 26, 1954; July 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1964; Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1974; March 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1984.

"The Stars and Stripes." *World War II Front Pages*. New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, Inc., 1985.

Stempel, Guido H. III. "Visibility of Blacks in News and News-Picture Magazines." *Journalism Quarterly*. Summer 1971: 337 - 339.

Tylertown Times. Weekly. Feb. 4, 10, 17 and 24, 1944; Aug. 5, 12, 19 and 28, 1954; July 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1964; Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1974; March 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1984.

Weill, Susan. "African Americans and the White-Owned Mississippi Press: An Analysis of Coverage from 1944 - 1984." Thesis. Jackson State University, 1993.

Williams, Edwin N. "Dimout in Jackson." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Summer 1970: 56 - 58.

CS

Mississippi Journalists, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Closed Society, 1960-1964

by

David R. Davies
Graduate Student, University of Alabama
2803 Williamsburg Road
Hattiesburg, MS 39402

Submitted to the 1994 paper competition
of the American Journalism Historians Association

Mississippi Journalists,
the Civil Rights Movement, and the Closed Society, 1960-1964

Introduction

Hazel Brannon Smith was entertaining friends in her Lexington, Mississippi, home on Halloween night, 1960, when she heard the sound of exploding firecrackers. Hurrying outside, she saw an eight-foot cross burning on her lawn. Teenagers were retreating into nearby woods. Smith, the veteran editor of the Lexington Advertiser, took a picture of the blazing cross and removed the license plate from the Chevrolet station wagon the teenagers had left behind. The vehicle, Smith found, was licensed to Pat Barrett, the local prosecuting attorney, whose son the editor suspected of taking part in the cross-burning.

Smith said the incident was more than just a Halloween prank; it was a symptom of a community illness in Lexington. What had happened, she believed, was part of her long-running battle with the local affiliate of the white Citizens' Council, an organization dedicated to fighting integration that had painted her as friendly to blacks. She said the teenagers were acting under the influence of Barrett and other state and community leaders influenced by the Citizens' Council. "The cross was burned on my lawn this time," Smith warned her readers in an editorial. "Next time it could be yours."[1]

Smith was among a handful of five Mississippi newspaper editors who defended blacks and challenged the racial mores of Mississippi society in the early 1960s, a time when extreme racism dominated the state. The editors won more acclaim outside the state than in it; three won Pulitzer Prizes for editorial writing in their careers. Smith won in 1964; Ira B. Harkey, Jr., of the Pascagoula Chronicle had won in 1963; and Hodding Carter Jr. of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times had won in 1946. J. Oliver Emmerich Jr. of the McComb Enterprise-Journal and P.D. East of the Petal Paper won lesser fame for their courage but not Pulitzers.

This paper examines these editors' dealings with and coverage of the civil rights struggle in their communities and in Mississippi. Their coverage of civil rights is contrasted with that of the dominant Mississippi press, typified by the Jackson Daily News, from 1960 to 1964, a period of great upheaval in a state that was one of the nation's major civil rights battlegrounds. This four-year period saw the first stirrings of the student sit-in movement, the freedom rides, the Ole Miss Crisis, the assassination of Medgar Evers, the events of Mississippi Freedom Summer, and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Through it all, these editors seldom went so far as to encourage integration; in fact, several were segregationists. But their criticism of the excesses of Mississippi's dominant white society set them apart from the rest of Mississippi and of the Mississippi press.

Southern press performance during the civil rights era is a little-studied component of African-Americans' long battle for equal rights. Most books on the civil rights era mention press performance only in passing. While some Southern journalists who wrote in the 1950s and 1960s have written their memoirs, little work has been done documenting the broad role of Southern journalists who spoke in this period for reason, justice, and peace, often at great personal risk. Such courageous journalism is not noteworthy because it brought immediate results; in fact, impassioned editorials seldom moved mountains in the fight against bigotry. Still, such journalism often represented the only public dissent by whites against Southern racial mores, an important crack in the wall of racist orthodoxy that dominated the Deep South through the early 1960s before crumbling in the years after.[2]

The Jackson Daily News

Mississippi's entrenched segregation was described by James Silver as a "closed society," in which the tenets of white supremacy dominated the state and relegated blacks to second-class citizenship. Blacks were strictly segregated from whites and were not allowed the vote or other rights. Whites who did not go along with this orthodoxy were pressured to conform by the white Citizens' Councils, an outgrowth of the Southern white backlash against the school desegregation mandate of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954. Founded in Mississippi, the organization spread across the South to fight integration.[3]

The Mississippi press, for its part, vigilantly guarded "the racial, economic, political, and religious orthodoxy of the closed society," according to Silver. Both Jackson newspapers, the state's largest, the Clarion-Ledger and the Daily News, were owned by the Hederman family, and Silver maintained that they dominated Mississippi thought. The Hedermans owned the

Hattiesburg American newspaper as well as a Jackson television station. Their tight control of the Jackson media market had prompted area businessmen to band together to form a rival newspaper, the Jackson State-Times, but the newspaper died in 1962 for want of financial support. The Columbia Journalism Review, in a 1967 article reviewing Southern newspapers' coverage of civil rights issues, called Mississippi newspapers the weakest in the nation. The Clarion-Ledger and the Daily News were singled out as "quite possibly the worst metropolitan papers in the United States."[4] Both papers supported the Citizens' Councils editorially.[5]

The Jackson Daily News, Jackson's afternoon paper, typified the quality of the Hederman papers and the coverage most of the Mississippi press afforded to civil rights and race issues. Its editor in the early 1960s was Jimmy Ward, a firebrand who held forth in a front-page column, "Covering the Crossroads." Ward's column featured his comments on items in the news, and he often referred to civil rights events.

When the freedom riders integrating interstate bus transportation crossed into Alabama in May 1961, Ward called the riders a "band of crackpots." The same day, he commented on the growing number of blacks in Washington: "Word from Washington is that city is getting so black the lightning bugs are coming out in the daytime."[6]

When the riders arrived in Jackson May 24, 1961, Ward called the riders "human freaks." The next day, the editor derided the riders as "idiotic agitating nitwits" and "abnormal mammals" who, in their effort to desegregate bus station restrooms and cafeterias, had come to Jackson for the "dubious honor of standing hip-to-hip before a bus station urinal with each other." He invited the students to return to the North to solve their own region's race problems, such as the high number of rapes in that "model city for race mixing," Washington, D.C., and the high juvenile delinquency rate in New York City.[7]

In news articles, anyone who favored integration, or "race-mixing," was dubbed a "mixer" in the newspaper's headlines. But despite the headlines, wire articles written by Associated Press and United Press International correspondents covering freedom rides outside Mississippi were generally balanced as printed in the Daily News, containing even the "mixers'" versions of events. When the freedom riders were savagely attacked in Montgomery, Alabama, the Daily News wire article was headlined, "Mixers Attacked in Montgomery," and a smaller headline noted that a white mob had beaten the integrationists.[8] Similarly, a wire service retrospective on the Brown decision bore the headline, "Seven Years Under Black Monday Rule," but the article below it was balanced, containing views of integrationists as well as segregationists.[9]

But staff-written articles about the rides were more one-sided, speculative, and opinionated. A locally written article about the freedom riders in Alabama quoted no one by name, but said "Montgomery hotel-lobby experts" were blaming out-of-state demonstrators for the trouble. The "average man on the street" was said to be surprised at the recent turn of events, which included a mob attacking the riders in Birmingham and setting fire to their bus in Anniston. "[W]hen Anniston and Birmingham reacted so positively last Sunday, it should have been sufficient to let anybody know that aggressive violations of Alabama law would evoke reactions if continued, local residents insist," the Daily News reported.[10]

As the riders neared Mississippi, the Daily News' coverage tended to focus on state leaders' preparations for the riders. The views of civil rights workers were not sought, but the opinions of Citizens' Council leaders were. Citizens' Council administrator William J. Simmons characterized the bus-riding students as "invading integrationists" and asked rhetorically whether the federal government, which had finally escorted the freedom riders through Alabama, would show the same solicitude for a Council expedition to the "heart of Harlem" to break Northern laws and customs. Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett offered moral support to Alabama Governor John Patterson over the latter's experience with the riders and prepared for their arrival in Mississippi.[11]

Editor Ward approvingly noted the state's preparations. While he warned locals to let the police deal with the integrationists, he paradoxically continued to attack the riders in inflammatory language. And while Ward said calm people regretted the "unfortunate mob action" in Alabama, "On the other hand there is no weeping in the street down here because one of the invading screwballs got his hair parted."[12]

Arriving in Jackson, the freedom riders were quickly arrested without incident. "Mixers Reach Jackson With No Violence," the Daily News announced, and an accompanying front-page editorial lauded Barnett for his law-and-order stand. The editorial questioned whether the freedom riders properly belonged in the local jail, the mental hospital, or the zoo. "These people," Ward repeated, "are crackpots."[13]

As arrests mounted the following day, still with no violence, Ward congratulated the community in a front-page, signed editorial for maintaining Southern hospitality during adversity. The "mixers," Ward said, had made Mississippi look good. "We wish for these vulgar, restroom-loving quacks a pleasant journey home. Thanks to them for favors done in their illegal, scummy mission."[14]

As the arrests continued, the Daily News continued to poke fun at the riders by one turn, then excoriate them at another. On the same day Ward derided the "silly cranky visitors" as welfare cheaters and an editorial accused them of failing to bathe, the editor attacked the riders for uttering unspecified lies about Mississippi. "Social gangsters in our midst have spent years slandering and libeling all of us. It will take a long time to erase their filthy-minded lies."[15]

As the riders filled the local jail through the last week of May, 1961, the Daily News carried articles about the first rumblings of another Mississippi civil rights milestone, the application of James Meredith to enter the all-white University of Mississippi. Meredith, after months of wrangling with Ole Miss officials, sued for admission to the university on May 31, 1961.[16]

By September 1962, response to Meredith's application for admission was reaching a fever pitch after more than a year of legal maneuvering, appeals, and hearings. Justice Hugo Black had ordered Meredith's admission, and Governor Barnett had announced a statewide television speech to address the crisis. The front page of the Daily News announced that a cross had been burned outside the veterans' apartments where Meredith might soon be living. The accompanying picture of the blazing cross, the first of several to be burned at Oxford in coming weeks, carried the caption, "Greeting for Negro."[17]

The Daily News' coverage of the Meredith crisis lacked the humorous edge of its coverage of the freedom rides. Meredith posed much more of a threat than the bus-riding students, who had challenged a form of segregation that did not touch most Mississippians' daily lives--interstate bus transportation--and who could be removed from public view swiftly with effective police work. Meredith's attack on segregation at the university, on the other hand, represented a more direct, substantive threat to Mississippi's way of life, and its preservation was threatened by the federal government's persistence on his behalf. The higher stakes stiffened the Daily News' resistance.

The newspaper outlined the stakes in a front-page editorial after the cross-burning. Headlined "Blueprint for Destruction," the editorial noted that violence was increasing in New York City, a clear result of the "race mixing" so prominent there.

Mississippians faced a choice between following New York's example of desegregation, which "leads straight to decay and corruption," or refusing to follow the path to oblivion. The editorial did not mention the Meredith crisis, but said it was important for Mississippians to consider such crucial choices "at this point in Mississippi history."[18]

The editorial foreshadowed the governor's themes that night in his television address. Saying no Caucasian race had yet survived social integration, he declared, "We will not drink from the cup of genocide." He repeated his pledge that no school would be integrated in Mississippi while he was governor.[19]

The next morning's Daily News provided blanket coverage of the governor's address as well as warm support for him. "Mississippi Mix? Ross Says 'Never'!", headlined the primary article, accompanied by the full text of the governor's remarks and an editorial, titled "We Support Gov. Barnett." The editorial said the governor's position is "one that is solidly endorsed by all right-thinking Mississippians." To underscore the point, a photograph showed a harried secretary sorting through the piles of supportive telegrams Barnett had received.[20]

In the days after the speech, the Daily News began to circle the wagons against expected criticism of Barnett's stand. "Let the Crackpots Scream," a Daily News editorial advised, saying the state would never please the "wild-eyed social bandits who have used this venom to turn many of the nation's cities into sidewalks of jungle terror." An accompanying, unsigned column on the editorial page defended the doctrine of interposition, which Barnett had used to justify ignoring federal orders.[21]

News articles the following Sunday in the Daily News, Clarion-Ledger combined Sunday edition also served to back up the governor. A front-page article labeled "bulletin" reported rumors that Ku Klux Klansmen were gathering in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in preparation to descend upon Oxford or Jackson. Another front-page article, lacking any named sources, exhorted state officials to "stand firm" with Barnett or face retribution by the legislature. Even the newspapers' society columnist got into the act; Florence Sillers Ogden "Dis An' Dat" lavished praise on Barnett.[22]

In the week that followed, the Daily News excoriated out-of-state media for criticizing Barnett, praised Southern newspapers who supported him, urged citizens to be careful in dealing with reporters visiting the state, lauded Barnett in a lengthy profile, and continued to warn that desegregation would ruin Mississippi as it ruined the North. Showing a rare crack in his humorless stance toward the Meredith issue, Ward suggested the government should sidestep the entire issue and declare every person in the state a Negro, "and the Magnolia State will become the happiest, biggest Harlem the world has ever known."[23]

The Jackson papers' close relationship with Barnett was apparent from their favorable coverage of the governor and their news articles echoing the governor's themes. Moreover, the death notice of longtime Clarion-Ledger city editor Gene Wirth in the midst of the Ole Miss crisis called Wirth a "confidant and close adviser" of the governor who "during the past days of crisis had spent many long and late hours conferring with the chief executive and other state officials." Barnett was an honorary pallbearer at Wirth's funeral.[24]

The week prior to Meredith's admission, the Daily News followed closely the impending "invasion" of federal forces. The newspaper's articles and editorials argued paradoxically that federal troops or marshals were not needed in peaceful Mississippi but that Mississippians stood prepared to fight to the death to fight integration. The newspaper's resolve against violence had faded. As the Daily News reported Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson's turning away Meredith on the Ole Miss campus, a front-page article warned that Mississippians would win the integration battle "regardless of the cost in human life." An accompanying article, datelined Birmingham, Alabama, noted that thousands of members of the States Rights Party were willing to take up arms in Barnett's behalf. Mississippi's U.S. senators said in an article on the same page that the use of troops in Mississippi would be illegal.[25]

The next day, Ward's front-page column said the public should be congratulated for remaining calm, as no incident had been reported. "There is no cause whatsoever for Federal troops to sent [sic] into Mississippi. With everyone acting peacefully, why would troops be sent unless it would be a military grab of power?" On the same page, an article described a gathering of 500 police officers in Oxford, "watchfully alert against a possible invasion of 50 to 100 U.S. marshals especially trained as riot-busters."[26]

Two days before Meredith's arrival at Ole Miss on Sunday, September 30, 1962, the Daily News provided its readers a musical anthem of the state's determination. Words and music to the "The Never, No Never Song" ran in place of the usual cartoon on the editorial page. An editorial said the song expertly put the state's attitude to music and suggested that readers clip it for a possible mass rendition at the Ole Miss-University of Kentucky football game the following day. The song, an ode to segregation, declared that, at Ole Miss, "Never, never, never, shall our emblem go from Colonel Reb to Ole Black Joe."[27]

The day after the riot, the Daily News, in its news coverage and its opinion columns, placed the blame for the violence squarely on the shoulders of the federal government and the marshals. The headlines expressed the newspaper's position completely: "Negro Troops Set Off Oxford Battle," "Marshals Fire Gas Without Warning," "Ross Blames 'Trigger-Happy' U.S. Officers." The newspaper's account was consistent with the support for Barnett and vilification of federal authorities that marked the coverage leading up to the violence.[28]

Oddly, the story of Harry Murphy, a light-skinned black from New York who claimed to have "passed" at Ole Miss during his days as a Navy student at Ole Miss in the mid-1940s, received little notice in the Daily News. Murphy's attendance at Ole Miss beat Meredith by almost 20 years to the honor of desegregating the school, but the newspaper buried Murphy's short account on page 8 and left the writing to the wire services.[29]

If the Daily News' coverage of civil rights news was blatantly segregationist, its coverage of blacks in other arenas showed a similar segregationist bent that was, at least, more subtle. Mostly, the Daily News just ignored the black community. Blacks were seldom seen or heard in the news columns, unless they committed a crime.

The Daily News, which consistently ran page-one articles about honors given local white schoolchildren at area junior and senior high schools, did not honor black schoolchildren with similar coverage in these spreads.[30] Society pages pictured pages upon pages of white brides, but no blacks.[31]

Sometimes blacks made it into the newspaper, perhaps if they died violently or if public money was being appropriated for black schools.[32] It helped, too, if a black had some connection with the newspaper. The manager of the Clarion-Ledger Colored Circulation Department, a 24-year-veteran of the newspaper, was honored with a three-paragraph article, albeit in the classified section, on the occasion of his departure to California for another job.[33]

But participation in any violent act was a surer way for a black to win entry into the Daily News pages. Blacks who were accused of committing violent crimes, not matter how far away from Mississippi, could wind up on the front page. The newspaper, for example, gave page-one play to two New Jersey youths accused of killing a local socialite and to the murder of a New York subway passenger by a black man.[34]

In 1963, the assassination of Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary, gave the Daily News a rare chance for the newspaper to show empathy, even in a restrained way, to a black man. In the first story describing the shooting of Evers outside his home the night of June 11, Ward's column called the killing a "dastardly act of inhuman behavior," virtually identical language to that used by Barnett in describing the murder. But the newspaper described the killing more in terms of its damage to Jackson's reputation for peaceful race relations than as a human tragedy. An editorial blamed the bloodshed on professional agitators, usually a code word for civil rights workers, and lamented the damage to Jackson's image. An accompanying cartoon depicted a book representing "Jackson's Record of Racial Harmony" as blemished by Evers' assassination.[35]

Oddly, the Clarion-Ledger emphasized the out-of-state ties of murder suspect Byron de la Beckwith when he was arrested. "Californian is Charged With Murder of Evers," read the newspaper's front-page headline, although Beckwith, who was born in California, had lived in Mississippi since he was a child.[36]

The year 1964 had a wealth of civil rights news for the Daily News to cover, all of it controversial. The new civil rights bill was wending its way through Congress, much to Southerners' chagrin. Another black student, Cleveland Donald, Jr., was applying to the University of Mississippi. Most controversially, hundreds of Northern college students were in Mississippi under a program organized by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The students, many from the North, planned to register black voters and to teach blacks about their public responsibilities in "freedom schools."[37]

The Daily News would sometimes editorialize against a combination of the three. The civil rights bill was considered repressive and an unnecessary substitute for black initiative. One editorial said that blacks were not the victims of discrimination in Jackson and needed not laws but a greater desire for self-improvement. The editorial noted in closing that blacks and whites would do well in ignore the "agitating human locusts" who might invade the state.[38]

The Daily News often characterized the incoming students as invaders. At first, the newspaper closely followed the story when civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Cheney were reported missing. But coverage quickly slacked off until bodies of the three were found almost two months later on August 4. Then and afterward, the newspaper closely followed the search for their killers but was strangely silent on its editorial page about the murders. The newspaper found space to comment on the wonders of the nuclear age, sleeping habits, dairy herds, and Alaskan resources, but said nothing about what was one of the largest national news stories of the year.[39]

Overall, the Daily News coverage of the civil rights movement mirrored the orthodoxy of the closed society. Blacks, so rejected by society, were rejected and maligned by the newspaper. Civil rights workers, so threatening to Mississippi, were scorned. The newspaper echoed the Citizens' Council and the politicians, excoriating outsiders and agitators. The exact effect of this coverage is unknown; however, the Daily News and its ilk certainly sustained the closed society and, by extension, the violence that enforced it. The Daily News did not openly invite disorder, although it came close to it in the Ole Miss crisis. But its news coverage and enthusiastic support of political leadership that compared integration to genocide constituted a more implicit invitation. By reflecting the closed society with such vehemence, the Daily News contributed to its maintenance in long-suffering, racially backward Mississippi in the early 1960s.

By contrast, Smith, East, Harkey, Carter, and Emmerich represented a minority of dissent against the orthodoxy of white supremacy in the closed society. So firm was the stand of the state's leadership against desegregation that any dissent represented progress in Mississippi. By calling the racist Mississippi society for what it was, they weakened the closed society, depending as it did upon unanimity and conformity for its sustenance. Personally, these journalists suffered insults, and even threats of physical violence, from their neighbors. Speaking out for justice was its own reward, so rigid was the racial orthodoxy of conformist Mississippi in the 1960s.

Hazel Brannon Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith's newspaper career began at 16 when young Hazel, finished with high school in her hometown of Gadsden, Alabama, but too young for college, signed on with the local weekly. At the Etowah Observer, she began writing personal items but soon was reporting front-page news and selling advertising. Her experience led her to major in journalism at the University of Alabama, where she eventually became editor of the college newspaper.

In 1935, with B.A. in hand, Smith began looking for a newspaper to buy. She settled on the struggling Durant News in Holmes County in central Mississippi. Emphasizing local news coverage, Smith managed to double the newspaper's circulation and to pay off the $3,000 debt on her newspaper in just four years. By 1943, she was prosperous enough to buy the Advertiser in nearby Lexington, county seat of Holmes County. In the mid-1950s, she completed her string of newspapers by buying the Banner County Outlook in Flora and the Northside Reporter in Jackson.[40]

Smith's newspapers were marked by her outspokenness in her editorials and in a regular column, "Through Hazel Eyes." In 1946, she was found in contempt of court after she interviewed the widow of a black who had been whipped to death.[41] In 1948, she accused a local jury of leniency for acquitting a defendant of gambling and bootlegging charges. Her editorials on the subject, part of a long campaign against racketeering, won her the top award from the National Federation for Press Women.

In 1954, Smith editorialized against the local sheriff after he shot a fleeing black in the thigh. The sheriff sued for libel and won a $10,000 libel judgment. The Mississippi Supreme Court overturned the judgment the next year, ruling that Smith's editorials had simply related the facts of the case.[42] This editorial marked the beginning of organized opposition to Smith, who later blamed the white Citizens' Council as "would-be political dictators and racial fanatics who want to control the people of Holmes County and tell them what to think, say, and do."[43] The Council supported the founding of a rival weekly in Lexington, the Herald, in 1958, and this combined with a Council-led advertising boycott cut into her advertising revenue. Moreover, her husband lost his job as administrator of the local hospital following pressure from the Council.[44]

As 1960 began, Smith continued to defend blacks against unfair treatment, but she was no integrationist. That July, after she had won an award from the University of Southern Mississippi for her courage, Smith excoriated the Herald for saying she had won the award for supporting integration. She called the charge a smear.[45] Smith believed that blacks and whites preferred to live separately but that desegregation did not have to bring turmoil, as both races wanted to live in peace.[46] In the mid-1950s, she often said she believed equalization of school funding was the best way to preserve segregation and avoid litigation.[47]

Two months after the cross was burned on her lawn, Smith was in the news again. This time, the Clarion-Ledger ran an article accusing Smith of meeting with black leaders. Two representatives of the state Sovereignty Commission, the Mississippi state agency organized to fight integration, had signed an affidavit saying they had seen Smith's car outside the office of the Free-Press, Jackson's black newspaper. The two claimed that Smith had met with several blacks, including Medgar Evers, secretary of the state NAACP. The affidavit was made public when state Senator T.M. Williams of Lexington made a speech about it on the Senate floor. Smith, he charged, was a shrewd and scheming woman who was trying to dictate the policies of Holmes County. In her defense, Smith said she was simply dropping off copies of the Free-Press in Jackson under her contract to print the paper.[48]

There was no love lost between Smith and the Commission, which used state funds to finance the Citizens' Council, one of her staunchest enemies. Smith had first criticized the Commission for approving up to $5,000 a month for the Council.[49] By March 1961, she was calling for the abolishment of the Commission, citing the agency's part in a campaign to oust the student newspaper editor at the University of Mississippi because of his alleged left-wing ties. She said that Mississippians' freedom was being threatened by the agency's tactics, which represented "our own home grown variety of fascism, Mississippi-born and nurtured."[50]

When the freedom riders rode into Jackson in the summer of 1961 and were quickly arrested, Smith was unsympathetic. In an editorial, she praised Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson for a fine job of public relations. She said that while she preferred that the freedom riders did not come South, she urged that they be treated equitably since their right to travel was protected by federal law.[51] But Smith was more sympathetic the next year to James Meredith. Although she was unenthusiastic about desegregating the university, she believed federal law had to be enforced. She blamed Governor Barnett for the bloodshed at Ole Miss because he had defied federal court orders to admit the young veteran. "No infant now living will ever see the day when the stain is completely removed from the name of our once proud state," Smith wrote.[52]

In May 1963, Smith criticized the local sheriff after he arrested a black man whose home was firebombed. Smith interviewed the man, Hartman Turnbow, who had recently attempted to register to vote, and concluded that it was ludicrous for Turnbow to be accused of firebombing his own home. Smith said his arrest was a "numbing shock" to the community.[53]

After the unprovoked killing of a black man in downtown Lexington the next month, Smith interviewed dozens of blacks to determine the facts, then published an account critical of the police. Two policemen sued her for libel, and even Smith's friends were critical that the crime was publicized. "Hazel, what are you trying to do, start a riot?" one friend demanded. "Hell, no," Smith replied. "I'm not trying to start a riot. I'm trying to stop one." The libel suit was later dropped.[54]

The week after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Smith placed the blame entirely upon the South. She said in an editorial that during the civil rights struggle the South had abdicated its leadership to bigots and extremists who had created the atmosphere in which Kennedy was slain. "First Lincoln, Now Kennedy. The South Kills Another President," read the editorial's headline.[55]

The following summer, Smith appeared on a biracial panel with civil rights leaders in Washington, D.C., to discuss the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County. "You don't have to have a sheet to belong to the Klan," she said. "It's as much as state of mind as anything else." Shortly thereafter, her editorial offices were firebombed.[56]

Smith's criticism of the closed society brought her fame but not fortune. She was $100,000 in debt by 1965, despite the financial contributions from a committee assembled by Carter four years earlier. Her financial worries worsened through the 1970s, and in 1986, Smith, deeply in debt and impaired by Alzheimer's disease, lost her newspapers. Smith had taken Mississippi to task and suffered financially and personally, if not physically. "I'm sure that if she had been a man," fellow Mississippi journalist Wilson Minor said of Smith, "they would have lynched her." Smith now lives in a nursing home in Alabama.[57]

J. Oliver Emmerich

Born in 1896 in New Orleans, J. Oliver Emmerich moved to McComb, Mississippi, in the southwestern part of the state near the Louisiana border, at the age of four. He grew up steeped in what he called the "cotton-patch" mentality of the South. This philosophy, as Emmerich described it, resulted in a demand for conformity, a hostility to change, the acceptance of deep-seated racial prejudices, and a rationalization of Southern traditions. Emmerich studied agriculture at Mississippi A & M College (now Mississippi State University), was graduated in 1918, and worked as a county farm agent for several years after college. In 1923 he bought the McComb Enterprise. Two decades later he bought the rival McComb Journal and merged the two newspapers to form the McComb Enterprise-Journal.[58]

Emmerich was a firm believer in states' rights in the 1940s and 1950s and was among the Mississippi delegates to walk out of the Democratic Convention in 1948 to protest Harry Truman's civil rights policies and his renomination. But Emmerich opposed lynching and supported voting and fair employment for blacks, and he later came to regret his states'-rights stand. "What many persons thought to be constitutional states' rights actually were not constitutional rights at all," Emmerich wrote. Moreover, the states'-righters presupposed that each man could interpret the Constitution for himself, which the editor came to see as an impracticality in a constitutional system.[59]

As editor, Emmerich was bothered that blacks seemed to appear in most Southern newspapers only when they had committed a crime. Rarely were blacks who had distinguished themselves in some way featured in the newspaper. What black news there was appeared under a condescending caption such as, "With Our Colored Friends." Blacks were always designated as blacks in news copy. Emmerich decided to expand very gradually the coverage of black news and to begin to use courtesy titles in referring to blacks. The latter change horrified some whites. "Our niggers are already uppity enough," one elderly man complained to the editor. "Are you trying to make them more uppity?" The failure to use courtesy titles, Emmerich replied, denied blacks their dignity.[60]

When freedom riders came to McComb in 1961, they were met with violence and harassment arrests. The Enterprise-Journal discouraged violence and pleaded for law and order. As a result of local residents' resentment of the riders and the resulting publicity, five out-of-state newspapermen were beaten up just outside the newspaper office. Emmerich himself was punched in the face by a stranger just weeks after having a serious heart attack. His assailant was acquitted.[61]

During the Ole Miss crisis, Emmerich accused Governor Barnett of ignoring the demands of constitutional government and damaging the image of Mississippi. The editor said that if Barnett succeeded in keeping James Meredith out of Ole Miss, it would be the first time in history that a Supreme Court decision had been overturned by a governor. This editorial caused an organized effort for readers to cancel subscriptions and businesses to cancel advertising. The Enterprise-Journal's circulation dipped but returned to normal within six months.[62]

In 1964, the stage was set for a long, hot summer as civil rights workers and college students descended on Mississippi to run freedom schools and register black voters. Already, the activities of SNCC leader Robert Moses to increase black voter registration in and around McComb had resulted in violence. Emmerich warned fellow Mississippians in editorials in May 1964 that they faced a choice in dealing with the "invasion" of college students responsibly or foolishly. "Our conclusion is that we should all try to relax."[63]

The community did not respond responsibly. More than a dozen churches and black residences were bombed in McComb in 1964, prompting the Washington Post at one point to call the area the "bombing belt." Three black taverns were burned. Albert Heffner of McComb, father of Miss Mississippi 1964, was harassed and his family was forced to leave town after he invited civil rights workers into his home.[64] A cross was burned in front of Emmerich's office and a Molotov cocktail was thrown through the window of his managing editor's home. Another cross was burned on the front lawn of Emmerich's home on the night the editor's mother had died, though the Ku Klux Klan apologized when it learned of the coincidence.[65]

The county sheriff approached Emmerich to say that he might make some headway in solving the bombings if he had reward money to offer informants. Emmerich ran an editorial publicizing the sheriff's request and met with a small committee of businessmen to drum up support. More than $5,000 was raised, and the bombers were ultimately arrested. The community effort to raise the money led shortly to a full-page "statement of principles" by community leaders, published in Emmerich's paper, urging a return to law and order, an end to harassment arrests, compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and greater communication between the races.[66]

The statement of principles, signed by 650 McComb citizens, elicited an immediate and positive reaction across the nation. The national television networks, the New York Times, and newspapers around the country took note. Drew Pearson's syndicated column said the action was "largely inspired by courageous crusading of one lone newspaper editor," Emmerich. A biracial committee was formed, and directly afterward groups of local civil rights activists tested the new Civil Rights law without incident. McComb's worst days were over.[67]

Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists, honored Emmerich for his efforts. Veteran Jackson journalist Wilson Minor, who covered Mississippi for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, said Emmerich, during the worst of the turmoil, had worn a bullet-proof vest and kept his house well-lit at night, apparently to discourage firebombers. He credited Emmerich's efforts as part of a larger American story of the triumph of justice and citizenship in McComb.[68]

Ira B. Harkey Jr.

Ira B. Harkey Jr. was a veteran of the U.S. Navy and New Orleans Times-Picayune newsroom when he arrived in Pascagoula, Mississippi, in 1949 to take possession of the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star, a weekly newspaper he and a partner had just purchased. Almost from the beginning, Harkey raised hackles in Pascagoula, a small town on the Mississippi Gulf Coast between New Orleans and Mobile, Alabama. His principles were what did it.[69]

Harkey believed that his job as editor of the Chronicle-Star was to print the news and to do so responsibly. The public good mattered above all else. So when Pascagoula Mayor Frank Canty was jailed on a drunkenness charge in 1950, Harkey wrote about the arrest and put it on page one, although readers complained. He turned down advertising he deemed misleading and refused to puff advertisers in the news columns. His principles, reinforced by a measure of financial independence, distanced him, he believed, from most Mississippi journalists, whom he dismissed as irresponsible, morally impotent, and intellectually bankrupt. The newspaper succeeded, doubling in circulation to about 7,000 in 1947, enough to allow a switch to a semi-weekly. The paper became a daily in 1962 and was renamed the Pascagoula Chronicle.[70]

Along the way, Harkey challenged some of the prevailing newspaper practices regarding race, because he also believed that blacks were human beings and should be treated as such. The Chronicle began covering more news of the black community and dropped the practice of separating black news from white news. Harkey gradually began to give the courtesy title "Mrs." to some prominent black women, and, without telling even his staff, he dropped the Negro tag in virtually all news articles. The policy went unnoticed by the public until a local father was charged with beating his four-year-old stepson in 1950, and Harkey's stories about the crime were picked up by the wires. Sympathetic letters poured into the mother and the local police until an Associated Press photographer obtained a picture of the boy, who was black. The sympathy halted immediately, and some readers were chagrined. "If you have to write about niggers," one reader told him, "call 'em niggers right up at top so I don't waste my time reading about 'em." Harkey unsuccessfully urged his colleagues in the Mississippi press to adopt the practice.[71]

When the Supreme Court outlawed school desegregation, Harkey supported the decision and believed he was the only Mississippi editor to do so, suggesting gradually integrating the schools over 20 years. A visitor from the Ku Klux Klan expressed his discontent with Harkey, and that fall a cross was burned in front of a black church, the black schools, and Harkey's home. "Ah, autumn!" Harkey wrote in his newspaper column the following week. "Falling leaves ... the hint of a north breeze stirring in the night ... the smell of burning crosses in the air."[72]

Harkey's most controversial stand concerned the James Meredith case in 1962. Harkey accused Governor Barnett of obstructing justice and driving Mississippi to chaos. He said it was schizophrenic for Mississippians to announce that they would not follow federal law and at the same time to protest the federal government's plans to uphold it. "In a madhouse's din, Mississippi waits. God help Mississippi," Harkey wrote. After the riot, an anonymous caller told Harkey his life was in danger, and a rifle shot was fired through the front of the Chronicle office.[73]

An anti-integration group began closed meetings at the county Courthouse, and word got to Harkey that his life was in danger. Circulation dropped, advertising dipped, and a half-dozen Chronicle newsboys quit their jobs. Harkey ran a front-page editorial publicizing the group and saying the stakes were higher than just one editor's well-being. "But long think on this: what happens to him can happen to you," Harkey told his readers, echoing Hazel Brannon's Smith words two years previously. "You may be next." Another shotgun blast, this time through Harkey's office window, prompted publicity and an investigation into the threats against the editor and his newspaper. The threats ended, though Harkey continued to carry a handgun.[74]

In 1963, the Columbia Journalism Review lauded Harkey for his courage, saying the editor's swift call for law and order made many of his brethren in the Mississippi press appear equivocating. His editorials also won him the 1963 Pulitzer Prize, an honor that won him few friends in Mississippi. Hazel Brannon Smith praised him in the Lexington Enterprise, as did Hodding Carter's Delta Democrat-Times, but most of the Mississippi press either criticized him for being anti-Mississippi or ignored him. Worse for Harkey, many of the people in Pascagoula had stopped speaking to him. "I was a pariah," Harkey said. He sold the Chronicle in June 1963 and left Mississippi.[75]

In his autobiography, Harkey was bitter about his Mississippi experience, especially about the press. He denounced most Mississippi, and indeed most Southern, newspapers, as being anti-black, cheering segregation at every turn, and coloring their news columns with racist propaganda. "Civil rights workers in those newspapers are always called 'agitators.' Civil rights is turned into 'civil wrongs,' or 'so-called civil rights.' Anti-Negro propaganda and editorializing appear in their news columns without quotation or any other distinguishing marks."[76]

Even Harkey's own newspaper slipped back into racism after Harkey left it. As the editor walked out of the Chronicle office for the last time, a young reporter wrung his hands and was overheard to say, "Boy, I can't wait to start writing nigger again!"[77]

P.D. East

P.D. East's greatest fame was in the 1950s, not the 1960s, but he continued to work in the latter decade, and he earned an uncommon amount of attention for tilting at the windmills of the closed society.

The son of working-class parents in the sawmill towns of southern Mississippi, East had a lengthy tenure as a passenger representative with the Southern Railroad, but he hated the work. After doing some freelance writing, he established the Petal Paper in 1953 with one aim: to make money. He vowed not to let controversial editorials spoil that goal; accordingly, his avowed editorial policy was to consistently support motherhood and to oppose sin.[78]

When the Brown decision stirred up Mississippi, East tried to straddle the fence. He published editorials from other newspapers, one on each side of the issue, and said in an accompanying editorial note he would let the readers decide for themselves. Readers were dissatisfied with equivocation on such an important issue, and subscription renewals and advertising began to fall off.[79] By 1956, East had begun to question segregation and ran a lengthy tongue-in-cheek column questioning whether heaven was segregated. He presently ran another column that defended the dignity of blacks and criticized Mississippi's treatment of the black man.[80]

East, already suffering financially, lost more money on his papers as subscriptions went unrenewed. But he continued to speak out, partly because he was so concerned at the establishment of a Citizens' Council in Forrest County in early 1956.[81] East believed the Council would destroy local race relations, so he ran what became known as the "jackass ad." The ad showed a braying donkey and invited people to join the Citizens' Council so they, too, could be superior and hate blacks. Readers threatened and insulted East as a result.[82]

In 1956, East, the novelist William Faulkner and Ole Miss history professor James Silver anonymously published one issue of The Southern Reposure, a satirical newspaper that poked fun of racial mores in Mississippi by criticizing the purported abuses of the Scotch-Irish against the established Mississippi Anglo-Saxon population. For example, one article quoted the trial of one 16-year-old Alexander Graham Tell, arrested and threatened with lynching in Addit, Mississippi, for calling a white woman a "wee bonnie lassie."[83]

East often resorted to satire, such as his publication of a fake advertisement in 1957 offering prime lumber available for making crosses. As East's local circulation dwindled to almost nothing, he sold subscriptions out-of-state through contacts and trips made as his fame spread. He also accepted donations.[84]

As the 1960s began, East railed against the Citizens' Councils, supported the student sit-in movement, and favored the 1960 Civil Rights Act.[85] He published his autobiography but commented little on national and even Mississippi civil rights developments through much of 1961, after which he suspended the Petal Paper for six months due to illness and marital problems.[86] He won his last major journalism award, the Florina Lasker Civil Rights Award, from the New York Civil Liberties Union, in 1962. He commented only briefly on the Ole Miss crisis, expressing regret months later over those who died in the riot and satirically demanding that the U.S. Justice Department replace the grass trampled by the U.S. marshals.[87]

In 1963, East mourned the death of two of his friends, Evers and Bill Moore, who was murdered on a cross-country march to Mississippi to ask the governor for racial justice. East believed that official Mississippi's expressions of sympathy at Evers' death were genuine but that Mississippi state officials pro-segregation actions had implicitly sanctioned brutal opposition.[88] Tiring of the oppressive atmosphere in Mississippi, East moved to Fairhope, Alabama, in December 1963. He continued to publish the Petal Paper from his new home in Alabama, commenting sporadically on race and civil rights issues, until his death in 1971.[89]

Hodding Carter Jr.

Hodding Carter Jr. is perhaps the best known of any Mississippi journalist of the past. Though the vast majority of his career took place before 1960, he was important to Mississippi in this period because he was such a prominent critic of the closed society and because of his close association with other Mississippi journalists.[90]

Carter had held racist views as a youth but became much more egalitarian in adulthood. After earning degrees at Bowdoin College and Columbia University, he worked for the wire services and the New Orleans States-Item before he and his wife Betty founded a newspaper in 1931 in his hometown of Hammond, Louisiana. Carter made a name for himself by taking on the Huey Long machine and was subsequently wooed to Greenville, Mississippi, by a group of businessmen who wanted to start a new newspaper. Carter quickly settled into aristocratic Greenville, a Mississippi River town with a reputation for civil race relations. After two years in business, Carter and his partners bought the competition and merged the two papers to form the Delta Democrat-Times.

In 1939 Carter was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, and the next year he worked briefly as press editor for the PM newspaper in New York. He began to write articles for national magazines as well as books, and after his return to Greenville he won the Pulitzer Prize for a series of editorials condemning racial bigotry.

After the Brown decision was issued in 1954, Carter urged calm. "Let's keep our shirts on," he advised readers. He said the Brown decision was fair because it gave every American child a right to an equal education. But he said the decision should be implemented over a decade or more to give Southerners time to adjust. To desegregate immediately, particularly in rural areas with high concentrations of blacks, would be impractical.[91]

After Carter wrote an article for Look magazine in 1955 describing the South's resistance to desegregation, the Mississippi House of Representatives passed a resolution -- by a vote of eighty-nine to nineteen -- calling him a liar. In a front-page editorial, Carter declared that he had resolved by a vote of one to nothing that the Mississippi House contained eighty-nine liars. "Those eighty-nine character mobbers can go to hell, collectively or singly, and wait till I back down," Carter said.[92]

In May 1960, Carter turned over the editorship of the Delta Democrat-Times to his son Hodding Carter III and bought a house in Maine. He and Betty lived there several months a year but closely followed events in Mississippi year-round. Invited to speak in 1961 at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, Carter was asked his reaction to the recent attack on his friend Oliver Emmerich. "If the local police protection isn't enough, they should call out the National Guard, and if the Guard can't do it, send in the Marines," Carter replied.[93]

The Daily News ran an Associated Press article on Carter's comments under the headline, "Hodding Carter Urges Force Be Used to Integrate State." In response, Carter received a deluge of hate mail. He was burned in effigy in the town of Glen Allan, 35 miles south of Greenville.[94] In an editorial, Carter said he was disappointed that "Mississippi's largest and worst newspaper combined used a completely dishonest headline over the Associated Press story from Providence." He explained that he did not want federal intervention; he was simply protesting the beating of Emmerich, a lifelong friend, and two correspondents from Time and Life. He added that being burned in effigy represented real progress in Mississippi, considering that the state once burned live people.[95]

Carter, mindful of his position in the community, drafted a statement with the editor of the Providence Journal and Evening

Bulletin explaining his remarks. He sent the statement to several thousand people.[96]

In the New York Times Magazine in February 1962, Carter predicted that meaningful desegregation would be a long time in coming to Mississippi. He predicted that Mississippi would be the final state to desegregate its schools and that "token desegregation would be accepted eventually in the larger communities."[97]

After Hodding Carter III urged Mississippians to speak out in favor of James Meredith in 1962, a cross was burned at the Carter home in Greenville. The senior Carter, living temporarily in New Orleans while he taught at Tulane University, returned to Greenville to help protect his home.[98]

After the slaying of Evers in 1963, Carter described Mississippi as a state possessed by hate and fear. In "Mississippi Now -- Hate and Fear," written for the New York Times Magazine, Carter said Mississippians demonstrated a "fantastic belief in an eventual and inevitable showdown."[99]

In 1964, Carter praised the passage of the Civil Rights Act but worried that it would not improve relations between the races.[100] He was not enthusiastic about the flood of college students visiting Mississippi that summer to register black voters. However, later he defended ministers and other volunteers who lived in the homes of blacks, saying this would show Southern blacks that there were whites who believed in black rights.[101]

The journalist Nicholas von Hoffman, after visiting Greenville in summer 1964, wrote that Greenville residents were different from other Mississippians and took pride in being so. For this, Hoffman credited Carter and the legacy of the poet William Alexander Percy.[102] William Burnley, police chief of Greenville during the early 1960s and later mayor, also credited Carter for calm in Greenville. "A lot of the press, like the Jackson newspapers, were stoking the fires. They wanted it to break loose. But the Carters were very effective in helping maintain peace and harmony."[103]

Harry Marsh, who worked for Carter in the late 1950s, recalled that Feliciana Farm, the Carter's home in Greenville, served as a rest stop for anyone looking into Mississippi's racial problems. "The newspaper office and Carter's home were seemingly mandatory way stations for foreign and national officials, journalists, and scholars passing through Mississippi on business related to desegregation," Marsh recalled. [104]

More significantly, Carter was something of a hero to the forces of sanity in Mississippi, those who questioned the closed society. Carter, and his colleagues in the Mississippi press who also questioned the state's dominant racial mores, demonstrated that there was indeed another side to the racial question. They pointed out the lunacy of the closed society, foreshadowing the crumbling of Mississippi's racial orthodoxy. They gave some people hope.

"The whole state was so racist that I was totally surrounded by people who didn't believe what I believed," recalled John Herbers, who worked for the Jackson bureau of the United Press and later for the New York Times. "They were backed up by tradition, religion, and the law. I'd get up every morning and ask myself, 'Is there something wrong with me?' I'd think I was crazy, and I'd see people like Hodding and know the real world was out there ... If it hadn't been for him I would have left. He gave us hope."[105]

Endnotes

1.Lexington Advertiser, November 10, 1960; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, November 12, 1960.

2.For general history of the Jim Crow laws and the civil rights movement, see C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); and David J. Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955-1968 (New York: Morrow, 1986). Biographies and autobiographies of individual Southern journalists abound, including accounts of some Mississippi journalists. Two that are particularly useful are Ann Waldron, Hodding Carter: The Reconstruction of a Racist (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1993); and Gary Huey, Rebel With A Cause: P.D. East, Southern Liberalism and the Civil Rights Movement (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1985). Rarer is a book that takes a broader view of the media and civil rights; two exceptions are Richard Lentz, Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King (Baton Route, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), and John T. Kneebone, Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

3. Silver, James W., Mississippi: The Closed Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963).

4.*Ibid*, p. 30; "A Regional Report: Newspapers of the South," Columbia Journalism Review, Summer 1967, 26-35.

5.For history of the Citizens' Council, see Neil McMillen, The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64 (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

6.Jackson Daily News, May 23, 1961.

7.Daily News, May 24, 1961; May 25, 1961.

8.Daily News, May 16, 1961; May 18, 1961; May 20, 1961.

9.Daily News, May 21, 1961.

10.Ibid.

11.Daily News, May 22, 1961.

12.Daily News, May 23, 1961.

13.Daily News, May 24, 1961.

14.Daily News, May 25, 1961.

15.Daily News, May 26, 1961.

16. Daily News, May 31, 1961.

17. Daily News, September 12, 1962.

18. Daily News, September 13, 1962.

19. "A Statewide Address on Television and Radio to the People of Mississippi, by Governor Ross R. Barnett," September 13, 1961, Kenneth Toler Papers, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University.

20. Daily News, September 14, 1962.

21. Daily News, September 15, 1962.

22. Daily News, Clarion-Ledger combined Sunday edition, September 16, 1962.

23. Daily News, September 19, 1962; September 21, 1962; September 24, 1962.

24. Daily News, September 20, 1962.

25. Daily News, September 26, 1962.

26. Daily News, September 27, 1962.

27. Daily News, September 28, 1962.

28. Daily News, October 1, 1962; October 2, 1962.

29. Daily News, September 25, 1962.

30. Daily News, May 19, 1961; May 26, 1961; June 5, 1964.

31. Daily News, Clarion-Ledger combined Sunday edition, September 2, 1962. This edition is typical of a society section of the Daily News during this period.

32. Daily News, May 28, 1962.

33. Daily News, September 2, 1962.

34. Daily News, May 26, 1961; September 26, 1962.

35. Daily News, June 12, 1963; June 13, 1963.

36. Clarion-Ledger, June 24, 1963.

37. Daily News, June 10, 1964. For background on Freedom Summer, see Clayborne Carson, In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening in the 1960s (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

38. Daily News, June 3, 1964; June 25, 1964.

39.*Daily News*, August 5, 1964; August 6, 1964; August 7, 1964; August 8, 1964; August 12, 1964.

40.*Current Biography*, 1973. Biographical materials, Hazel Brannon Smith papers, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University. Smith's stands during the civil rights struggle are covered thoroughly by Mark Newman in "Hazel Brannon Smith and Holmes County, Mississippi, 1936-1964: The Making of a Pulitzer Prize Winner," *Journal of Mississippi History* 54 (February 1992): 59-87.

41.Maurine H. Beasley and Richard R. Harlow, *Voices of Change: Southern Pulitzer Winners* (McLean, Va.: University Press of America, 1979), 83. This book contains verbatim interviews with both Smith and Harkey.

42.See profiles of Smith in *Look*, November 16, 1965, for details of the editor's early career.

43.Lexington *Advertiser*, June 30, 1960.

44."Mississippi: Determined Lady," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Fall 1963, 37-38.

45.Lexington *Advertiser*, July 26, 1960.

46.Lexington *Advertiser*, April 16, 1961.

47.*Lexington Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1955; June 9, 1955; January 29, 1959.

48.*Clarion-Ledger*, January 5, 1961.

49.Lexington *Advertiser*, January 5, 1961.

50.Lexington *Advertiser*, March 16, 1961.

51.Lexington *Advertiser*, May 25, June 1, 1961.

52.Lexington *Advertiser*, September 13, October 4, 1962.

53.Lexington *Advertiser*, May 16, 1963; Beasley and Harlow, *Voices of Change*, 89.

54.Beasley and Harlow, *Voices of Change*, 88.

55.Lexington *Advertiser*, November 28, 1963.

56.*Current Biography*, 1973, 385.

57.*Chicago Tribune*, March 27, 1986.

58.Biographical information about Emmerich is from J. Oliver Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus: The Saga of Deep South Change* (Jackson, Miss.: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973); and Sammy McDavid, "The Hide of a Rhino ... The Memory of an Ostrich," *Alumnus* magazine, Mississippi State University, Summer 1978, pp. 2-6.

59.Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, 87-89.

60.Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, pp. 115-117.

61.Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, 128.

62.Lexington *Enterprise-Journal*, September 14, 1962; Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, 127-128.

63.McComb *Enterprise-Journal*, May 25, 1964; May 29, 1964.

64.Manuscript, "The McComb, Mississippi, Story," J. Oliver Emmerich Papers, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; *Washington Post*, October 27, 1964; Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, 132-134.

65.McDavid, *Alumnus*, pp. 2-6.

66.Emmerich, *Two Faces of Janus*, 142-147; McComb *Enterprise-Journal*, November 17, 1964.

67.Drew Pearson column, November 1964, in J. Oliver Emmerich Papers; McComb *Enterprise-Journal*, November 19, 1964.

68.Speech manuscript, dated 1964, Wilson Minor papers, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University.

69.Ira B. Harkey Jr., *The Smell of Burning Crosses: An Autobiography of a Mississippi Newspaperman* (Jacksonville, Ill.: Harris-Wolfe, 1967), 21-28.

70.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 39-42, 45.

71.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 54-55, 60-61, 65.

72.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 96, 101, 104.

73.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 134, 137, 141.

74.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 149, 162, 163.

75."On Mississippi," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Winter 1963, pp. 2-3; Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 18, 123-124.

76.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 182.

77.Harkey, *Smell of Burning Crosses*, 19.

78.P.D. East, *The Magnolia Jungle: The Life, Times and Education of a Southern Editor* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 112, 121, 128.

79.East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 126, 133.

80.*Petal Paper*, February 9, 1956, cited in East, *Magnolia Jungle*, pp. 165-167; East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 168-172.

81.East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 172, 179.

82.*Petal Paper*, March 15, 1956, cited in East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 176-177, 180.

83.*Southern Reposure*, July 1956, cited in East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 196, 199.

84.East, *Magnolia Jungle*, 225, 239.

85.*Petal Paper*, March 24, 1960, June 23, 1960, August 25, 1960, all cited in Huey, *Rebel With a Cause*, 151-153.

86.Huey, *Rebel With a Cause*, 165.

87.*Petal Paper*, May 3, 1963, cited in Huey, *Rebel With a Cause*, 177-178.

88.*Petal Paper*, June 1963, cited in Huey, *Rebel With a Cause*, 187.

89.Huey, *Rebel With a Cause*, 191, 200.

90.Background material on Carter is taken primarily from Harry D. Marsh, "Hodding Carter's Newspaper on School Desegregation, 1954-1955," *Journalism Monographs* 92 (May 1985). Marsh is a useful source because he worked for Carter at the *Delta Democrat-Times* in the 1950s.

91.*Delta Democrat-Times*, May 18, 20, 26, 1954; August 22, 1954.

92.*Delta Democrat-Times*, April 3, 1955.

93.Betty Carter oral history, University of Southern Mississippi, Volume 150 (1979), cited in Waldron, *Hodding Carter*, 291.

94.Ibid; *Daily News*, December 6, 1961.

95.*Delta Democrat-Times*, December 10, 1961.

96."Statement in Carter Papers," cited in Waldron, *Hodding Carter*, 294.

97.*New York Times Magazine*, February 11, 1962.

98.Delta Democrat-Times, September 29, 1962; Betty Carter unpublished memoirs, cited in Waldron, Hodding Carter, 299.

99.New York Times Magazine, June 23, 1963.

100.U.S. News and World Report, June 29, 1964.

101.Hodding Carter to George S. Adler, January 5, 1965, cited in Waldron, Hodding Carter, 310.

102.New York Post, August 4, 1965.

103.Quoted in Waldron, Hodding Carter, 311.

104.Marsh, "Hodding Carter's Newspaper on School Desegregation," 19.

105.Quoted in Waldron, Hodding Carter, 251.

Somebody Out There Is Listening:

The WOR Radio Broadcasts of Mary Margaret McBride

Beverly G. Merrick
Ph.D., M.A.J., M.A., B.A., B.A., Woman's Studies Certificate

for presentation at

American Journalism Historian Association

Roanoke, Virginia

October 1994

Abstract

Title: **Somebody Out There Is Listening:**
The WOR Radio Broadcasts of Mary Margaret McBride

In the early days of radio, almost anyone could walk into a studio and get a job on the air. However, "making it" on radio was not as easy as it looked. Several of the best all-time entertainers had to work hard to win over the public. The story was the same for Mary Margaret McBride in her early years at WOR, spanning from 1934 to 1940. Her first broadcasts did not appeal to WOR listeners. Early comments from radio columnists were discouraging. Management never let McBride forget the radio executives were only giving her program a try. McBride, known on the air as "Mary Deane," had been given the so-called dead-time on the air. It was thought that no one was listening to their radio from 2:30 to 3:30 p.m. Even McBride, in her own frank way, commented on the advent of being hired that she probably would not do a very good job because she never listened to radio. This historical paper documents how she rose above these adverse perceptions -- from someone who "never listened" to radio and from someone whom no one wanted to hear -- to the "most-listened-to" woman of her time.

Somebody Out There Is Listening:
The WOR Radio Broadcasts of Mary Margaret McBride

In the early days of radio, almost anyone could walk into a studio and get a job on the air. However, "making it" on radio was not as easy as it looked. Several of the best all-time entertainers had to work hard to win over the public. One example is Milton Berle, who reportedly had been an early failure on radio. Berle's first sponsor dropped him after his wise-guy gags; and a few off-color jokes offended listeners, giving fodder to the critics.[1]

In turn, Berle reportedly criticized the critics. He told Ben Gross, radio columnist for the New York Daily News: "What's the use? Sometimes you fellows don't know what your talking about; but it doesn't matter. Because if I'm good -- and I know I am -- I'll come out on top anyway."[2] Milton Berle's next show became a smashing success, his most popular radio show.[3]

The story was the same for Mary Margaret McBride in her early years at WOR, spanning from 1934 to 1940. Her first broadcasts did not appeal to WOR listeners. Early comments from radio columnists were discouraging. Management never let McBride forget the radio executives were only giving her program a try. McBride, known on the air as "Mary Deane," had been given the so-called dead-time on the air. It was thought that no one was listening to their radio from 2:30 to 3:30 p.m.[4] But airing "something" was better than airing "nothing." It would not suffice for WOR to just go off the airwaves in the early afternoon. Maybe her program would draw a few listeners, and maybe even a sponsor or two.

Even McBride, in her own frank way, commented on the advent of being hired that she probably would not do a very good job because she never listened to radio.[5] This historical paper documents how she rose above these adverse perceptions -- from someone who "never listened"[6] to radio and from someone whom no one wanted to hear -- to the "most-listened-to" woman of her time.

Early in 1934, threadbare and at rock bottom, McBride, rose to the top of the list of 38 women being interviewed[7] by Scott Lucas, to win the competition for the job at WOR radio. McBride wanted to continue as a free-lance writer. During the interview, she told Lucas she did not have much use for the medium of radio.[8] Explaining her mind-set at the time of the interview, she wrote about her first contact with radio in Out of the Air :[9]

> I seldom turned on the small radio I had bought in my prosperous free-lance magazine period when an editor assigned me to do an article about the mysterious power that came out of ether to hypnotize an old lady on a South Dakota farm into knitting a muffler for Jessica Dragonette and a young mother in Dubuque, Iowa, into naming her twins Amos and Andy. The article wasn't very good; I couldn't solve the mystery. As soon as it was done, I stopped listening and went back to my old attitude of mild scorn for this interloper, a feeling shared by most people in the writing business.[10]

McBride had only known Lucas as an editor for one of the national magazines.[11] He in turn knew her to be a good writer. And, Lucas was unyielding toward her disclaimers of interest or competence. He wanted McBride to try out. He said he wanted her because her writing indicated that she "sounded like she had the common touch."[12]

At the audition with Lucas, McBride talked about a recent newspaper interview she had with F. Scott Fitzgerald, in which he drank and talked about his own writing, as well as his marriage, in bitter, mocking terms. She had been sent to the Baltimore to interview Fitzgerald by the city editor of NEA (Newspaper Enterprise Association).[13] McBride said she was surprised when Lucas called her back for a second audition. This time she talked about her Missouri childhood, and about herself, a barefoot girl who ran down to the barn at the Old Homeplace.[14]

As soon as the WOR interviews were over, she put them out of her mind. She managed to secure a plum magazine assignment, her first in two years. That was all she could think about. McBride was pleased that Good Housekeeping wanted to send her to Washington, D.C.,[15] on the trail of an exclusive magazine subject. It was there that the telegram from WOR caught up with her, in which McBride was offered the radio position.[16]

She decided to take a crack at the on-the-air job. Economic times were still a bit uncertain for the magazine writer. The free-lance writer's market was tied closely to the economy. Although writing articles for the major magazine had been a lucrative career during the 1920s, the bottom dropped out of the market with the hard times of the Depression. McBride accepted WOR offer as a stop-gap measure, and only as a way to keep a steady salary coming in until the magazine market recovered.

Someone else was looking out for McBride. It is known that her first radio boss, Ted Streibert, would recall it was McBride's newspaper and magazine experience that made him pull for her as well. He understood her protestations about radio: "She was new at radio, and so was I. We at WOR had some free time and wanted a woman's program to fill the hour."[17]

WOR hired the down-and-out journalist to be a wise but kindly, doting old character, who would "speak colloquially and dispense philosophy in great helpful chunks" after devoting her life to a large family.[18] She definitely was hired on trial. Later, McBride told Bennett Cerf how she probably got the job: "I was the only one of the applicants who made no salary demands."[19] While Lucas made $200-a-week for the program, McBride said her salary of $25 was closer to that of his secretary's, who made $20 a week.[20]

McBride set a few groundrules. She did not want to broadcast under her own name because she was still the acting woman's editor of the NEA syndicate. She had taken the NEA job to fill in for an ailing friend. The NEA job also kept her name in print. Apparently, she also wanted a pseudonym because she was afraid that the radio work might interfere with her career as a magazine writer.[21]

Lucas was willing to accommodate her needs for a pseudonym. The on-air given name of Martha came from the story of Mary and Martha in the Bible. It was a collaborative choice: Lucas had once been a minister and McBride had Baptist beginnings.[22] The surname Deane came from a popular baseball player named Dizzy.[23] The name was suggested by William Rambeau, a salesman in the area for WOR.[24] In this way, Martha Deane, grandmother -- as McBride called her *nom d'air*[25] -- was born.[26]

Conditions became more bearable shortly thereafter, when McBride's friend and confidante, Estella Karn, became her program manager.[27] McBride needed good words and camaraderie just then. Mel Tormer, who had been McBride's first WOR station manager and who later turned actor, thought McBride's show was "pretty small potatoes."[28] He no doubt reflected the attitude of many radio managers of the day, who "tolerated" women's programming, which was only allowed on the air "until something better came along."[29] McBride said the station management let her know in overt and subtle ways that she was just doing a mere woman's program -- and she resented it.[30]

Her friend also was there when the critics had nothing good to say. McBride remembers that the radio editor of the New York Sun once wrote in a column that "there was one man on radio who should have a vote of condolence from all men." The reporter was referring to Martha Deane's announcer. The writer said Vincent Connolly was "forced to listen to some pretty silly talk."[31] The

Martha Deane Show had picked up Connolly after being on the air two short years, in 1936.[32] He had graduated from Princeton three years earlier,[33] and was hand-picked by Kam.

Later, when the show caught on, "the silly talk" was now being talked about from the context of having proved itself. Of course, by then, many women, like Kam, had worked behind the scenes with similar shows. Marion Marzolf writes that women working in radio broadcasting during its early years had a better opportunity, because of less discrimination than what was apparent in other occupations. Marzolf said, the opportunity for women to move into creative and responsible positions was good.[34] One of those early women in radio was Myrtle Stahl, who began working in public service programming at Chicago's WGN, broadcasting out of the Drake Hotel in 1922, before the radio station was even connected with the Chicago Tribune. The year was 1924, and WGN continued to broadcast from the Drake Hotel.[35]

McBride's most critical early review was given by Ben Gross of The Daily News . She had only been on the air several months when Gross briefly mentioned Martha Deane in his daily column. He said the talkshow host was undoubtedly "the worst radio speaker he had ever heard."[36] But there was something about McBride's on-air presence that kept people come back for more, including radio critics. Gross said, after his initial aversion to the first broadcast he had listened to, he tuned in again a week later, "compelled no doubt by masochism."[37]

There was more to the story than that. Years later, Gross said Estella Kam, McBride's acerbic program manager, had read his critical review, and had been appalled his comments about McBride. Kam marched into his office and demanded he give McBride one more chance.[38] Gross said that much to his surprise, after listening to McBride again, he "had not the slightest desire to dial immediately to another station."[39] Gross said of McBride:

> Her words fascinated me! It became obvious that here was no ordinary female gabber; that she had a rich background of experience; that during her interviews she revealed hidden facets of her guests; that she had a store of amusing and entertaining anecdotes about the great and humble and, above all, she loved people. The next day I listened again and by the time another week had passed the Mary Margaret hour had become an addiction.[40]

Her broad experience in journalism had made her a sound interviewer. So, in his next column in

The Daily News, Gross reversed his initial criticism, devoting a whole paragraph to her, and saying: "Here is a great reporter, one who must be a first-rate newspaperwoman."[41] Although Gross had no idea of the true identity of Martha Deane, he advised listeners to tune in to her program.[42]

Gross said he later learned that "those few vagrant sentences" tossed off between editions apparently saved her job for her. McBride subsequently revealed that WOR executives had decided to fire her because they concluded she did not have "a good radio personality."[43] One of those executives, Ted Streibert, would later claim in light of her overwhelming success, to have outguessed the "experts" -- those radio columnists who called her technique deadly and her voice impossible.[44] Whatever the case, the appearance of the complimentary paragraph in the News had given them pause to think. "Maybe she is a good reporter," they said. "Maybe the gal has something after all." So they retained her for yet another trial period.[45]

Because of Gross' change in sentiment about her program, McBride called the radio critic her benevolent godfather. Subsequently, he would be her guest at every broadcast gathering of importance.[46]

Somebody else was also listening to McBride's early broadcasts. And, time and opportunity were all McBride needed to prove herself. Reaching out across the airwaves, she started asking her listeners to write letters to her; from those letters a strange intimacy began to develop.[47] Before the radio station got around to its own type of court-martial, listeners told WOR executives in no uncertain terms that they liked Mary Margaret McBride a.k.a. Martha Deane.[48]

The success of similar entertainers was making an impact on the profession. Kate Smith attracted the same kind of listeners with her night-time variety show. Although her show was classed as entertainment, the singer emphasized the home and hearth, the family and patriotism, charity and other sure-fire topics. To million of women, the singer became "the indispensable purveyor of common sense and sentimentality" for evening listeners.[49]

McBride, in fact, was often compared to Kate Smith -- an vice versa. A writer for Life magazine later wrote about the journalist's fundamental appeal:

> Mary Margaret's stock in trade is innocence. Those who know her only through her voice -- girlish, hesitant, often bewildered -- picture her as a demure adolescent with pigtails, spotless in her calico, watching the parade of life with

> bright, wide eyes. Those who view her in person, although forced instantly to revise their estimate as to size, retain their original feeling as to quality. . . . Built along the broad general lines of Kate Smith, she has artfully preserved an air of a little girl lost in the big city.[50]

McBride became the day-time purveyor of common sense and sentimentality. She went far to extend her early Deane days in which she was only to speak "about household hints to a feminine public." After awhile, Martha Deane became a kind of second personality[51] for the journalist. McBride began to take the role seriously when she discovered there were thousands of women "hungry to contact the outside world, even in a vicarious way."[52]

Social research for the time shows the day-time audience was made up almost exclusively of women, who were, for the most part, devoted to homemaking. Paul Lazerfield's 1941 study of the daytime audience noted it was comprised of women of modest income, tied to the home by families or lack of disposable income for movies, clubs and other entertainment.[53] Even though isolated, these homemakers spent 80 percent of the American income.[54] Network executives began to take note of the purchasing power of this often-overlooked audience. Media management began to see the potential of women's popular programming in terms of dollars and cents.

However, management was slow to recognize a corollary social value of day-time programming. Marion Marzolf, historian of women in journalism, noted Lazerfield's research, and said about the day-time audience:

> These women were likely to be lonely and bored, and radio was a magic thing that allowed them to push out horizons and make new companionships. They listened primarily for social contact and entertainment; information and education needs were far down the list.[55]

Into this social vacuum came Mary Margaret McBride, who proved everyday topics could be entertaining, even educational. She began to take an interest in discovering stories that might help her audience overcome their sense of isolation. She discovered that the so-called human interest story always drew an audience. McBride said:

> When I am on the air, I imagine that I am talking to a young married woman with a couple of children. A woman who at one time had a job and is still interested

> in the jobs of other people, the business world. So I talk about people who do things, the world at large. I try to give her the vicarious thrill of going places and meeting people. When I describe a restaurant where I had dinner, . . . I try to look at it as she might, . . . and to share her enthusiasm.[56]

In fact, husbands began to write the radio stations telling them how wonderful it was that McBride was bringing new conversations to their nightly dinner table: "What a welcome change from the usual reports of troubled children and household woes."[57] They averred in those letters that "adventure, traveling, listening to the great and near great had brought her listeners a new world."[58] McBride apparently was building quite a following. A news item in the McBride morgue file at The New York Times, dated March 1935, noted: through her radio broadcasts she was credited with furnishing the dinner table conversation for most of suburban New York.[59]

Her subjects of discussion ranged from cabbages to kings. McBride said she worked long and hard to bring new programming to her listeners:

> To get stories I scurried around like the proverbial eager-beaver reporter on a newspaper. I spent the whole of one terrible night in Long Island Sound on a tiny boat seining for fish with a professional fisherman. Each smelly, squirmy catch was thrown on deck, and though I can get seasick in a rowboat tied to a dock, by some miracle of will I restrained myself the entire twelve hours from throwing up.[60]

Out of Long Island, she had dug up information about a town with a police department that was once arrested for robbery and a fire department jailed for a fire. McBride said:

> It seems the police department, except for one honest member, stole the carpet from a local church. The non-stealing policeman had to arrest the others. As for the fire department, it was arrested -- to a man -- for starting a fire in order to equal the fire fighting record of a rival fire department.[61]

McBride's first real interview guest was novelist Inez Hayes Irwin.[62] But as the programming continued, she decided to alternate celebrities with common folks having interesting hobbies or personalities. McBride ferreted out and passed along to her listeners, her own "joy of discovery"[63] when interviewing a Tennessee mountaineer, an Iraq silversmith, a 17-year-old boy who helped his mother make brownies, a Brooklyn electrician who built an entire robot out of ordinary electric fuses.[64] She interviewed the famous names, as well as the unknown person behind the famous and infamous, such as the advisor to the Grand Lama of Tibet.[65]

Radio critic Ben Gross, now listening regularly to her early broadcasts, said her woman's program featured "the oddest kind of chatter on the air -- comments on art, literature, politics and human relations, but not a single household hint or recipe in the entire hour."[66]

As her years on radio passed, McBride ranged farther and farther afield in search of more topics. She went to every party to which she was invited, "provided there was a story in it." McBride said, "The hostess had to promise *that*. . . . Before I accepted, I asked, 'Who's coming?'"[67] Later she would hire a reporter to scout and verify news.[68] With manager Karn, the journalist visited with a gypsy family, spent some time with hobos, floated over Manhattan in a blimp, went up in a helicopter with inventor Igor Sikorsky.[69] McBride even traveled north of the Arctic Circle, just to see the aurora borealis.[70]

McBride apparently never clocked off the job. Happenstance had placed her in a vocation and avocation, in which she could pursue her hobbies while both on- and off-the-clock. She told her listeners she loved to read, garden, go to the theater -- and eat.[71] By design, and pure Missourian ingenuity, she made sure she did all of these things at home and in her travels. Even her weekends were given over to her radio program, like her visits to Maine, Cape Cod, Richmond. She would only go some place after she had determined the place had some kind of story value. Once there, she would spend her time interviewing people, going to libraries, or driving to places she had read about -- all for the "program."[72] She shared all her experiences with her listeners.

McBride was an acute observer; she had the rare ability to find new ways to look at things she encountered in her everyday city life -- things often overlooked by the casual eye. For instance, she observed what she called "the habits of flowers." She told fans about all the trees and flowers blooming in her friends' gardens, some of them on the rooftops of skyscrapers. She said, although she would not lay claim to all the gardens her friend cultivated, she knew of one sky-garden, just across from Central Park,

> where a woman gardener grows golden bantam corn and tomatoes as big as a man's fist, besides mustard, parsnips, peppers, string beans, green peas, lettuce and radishes. When she feels like shortcake, she gathers big red berries from

> her own patch. She has homegrown mint juleps, and grapes for jelly hang in luscious clusters on the pergola where grapevines mingle with honeysuckle and wisteria. If she wants a bouquet, she can fill a basket with pinks, heliotrope and mignonette from outside her bedroom window, twenty-one stories up.[73]

McBride had only petunias in her windowbox, but from the nineteenth floor, she could look down at Mrs. Vanderbilt's garden across the way; and at the coffee cans with sweet basil, and the pots of marigolds and morning-glories mingling among[74] the tenement washing hanging from window to window.[75]

McBride told her listeners she envied Eileen Garrett, who was a writer, editor and publisher, for her ability "to hear the growing world around her, to put her ear to the ground and listen to the small sounds." McBride apparently tried to replicate Garrett's experience. After a visit to the countryside, McBride told listeners: "For about an hour and a half yesterday, I sat on the grass watching a purple tulip, trying to *see* it open."[76] She also observed the habits of cows: "I love the country sounds. Somehow the lonely mooing of a cow always thrills me."[77]

Few aspects of her life remained hidden from her audience.[78] She reportedly told listeners she had collected more than 200 dolls from around the world.[79] Many of those dolls in fact were sent to her by her devoted fans.[80] On her birthdays, others gifts as well would pour in from her listeners: mufflers, salt shakers, rabbits' feet, popcorn, even live turtles.[81]

McBride was interested in life, and an interesting person. Letters began to inundate the station, about 500 letters per broadcast.[82] Soon McBride found it necessary to lug all the fan mail she received home in burlap sacks.[83] From the letter writers, she learned to strike a balance, deciding there was almost nothing she could *not* tackle on the air and get away with it, and still have people understand.[84]

McBride trusted the feedback from her listeners. She said those listeners who wrote, tuned her in and tuned her out, guarded her from "the awful conceit and self-satisfaction that might swiftly have wrecked" her job and her.[85] However, she once said with much satisfaction: "I like to face my own listeners. I feel safe and happy with them. I know they'll always behave the way I want them to."[86]

Michael Mok, a reporter for the New York Evening Post, who attended one of these early radio shows, described the then-37-year-old McBride as "buxom, dark-eyed, fair-skinned."[87] His article would be the most flattering of portraits of her radio career. Mok said McBride was a magazine writer of considerable note who had still had not realized the star-making potential of radio. When he called her for an interview, she said, "An interview? With me? But I don't merit that. I'm not important enough. Really, there's no story in me. You honestly want to interview me? Oh, my! Oh, my! That's wonderful! Oh, yes! Certainly! Oh, my! Gladly!"[88]

With such a new and hectic schedule, there was not much opportunity for the fun and games that usually define the life of a celebrity. Her first vacation away from the show was spent having a fistula removed.[89] Even so, in 1935, at the climax of National Business Women's Week, she was a speaker at the Hotel Astor, along with Ethel Barrymore and Fannie Hurst, when 28 women were honored for achieving distinction in the professional and business world -- among them, Georgia O'Keeffe, Elizabeth Arden, Margaret Bourke-White, Amelia Earhart.[90] McBride was showing the same promise of greatness as these celebrated women. She too was destined for a distinctive career. After only one year on the air, she had become so popular with her radio audience, not to mention her sponsors, her beginning salary at WOR of $25 a week had reportedly grown to $1,800 a week.[91]

Shortly thereafter, at noon, on Aug. 8, 1935, McBride was standing with Girl Scouts on the south terrace of the 11th floor of the RCA Building in Radio Center. Reportedly, the event was filmed.[92] That May, the Scouts had planted a small corn and cabbage patch on the terrace to earn their merit badges in cooking. By August the corn was four feet tall, and McBride "on food authority, ascertained that it was worth roasting."[93] McBride and the scouts, representing the five boroughs of New York, had an outdoor corn-roast on the patio of the Garden of the Nations -- several, with smoke-reddened eyes. "Squatting Bhudda-like in a setting of hibiscus and yucca, the young cooks speared hot ears with crimson-handled roasting forks."[94]

Such highly visible programming with popular subjects made McBride a household word. When, in 1936, on her second vacation from the program, McBride went to Europe on the Hindenburg with a friend, George Schmidt, some of her listeners sat up all night because they were afraid there would be an accident over the sea. She said:

> Hundreds wrote to wish me a safe voyage. Some scolded me for frightening them by taking what they thought was a most perilous trip. They sent gifts that ranged from rabbits' feet to hazelnut cake and included the caul of a seventh daughter of a seventh daughter.[95]

Perhaps they appreciated her commitment to them in return. She spent most of her time writing brief notes to listeners who had written her, so that they would have postcards with the Hindenburg on the return address.[96] McBride returned from Europe on the ocean liner, the *Ile de France*. It was a fateful decision to sail back. On the return voyage of The Hindenburg, the blimp caught fire and was totally destroyed. Those killed included Captain Lehmann, who on the first-leg of the journey, had ask her to sit on the bridge with him while he recited his own poetry. She said: "I walked with him over every inch of that ship on narrow catwalks with the ocean in plain sight below."[97]

To have such a close call at the height of her career must have caused much introspection; especially, in the light of ensuing events. It was not the flight with the unfortunate Captain Lehmann that cinched her place as a public person. An unlikely shipmate on McBride's return ocean voyage from Europe finally cemented her on-air presence with listeners. Her travelling companion was a not-so-old goat.

L'affaire Pierrot and a Patriotic Mynah Named Raffles

McBride landed in New York harbor, walking down the gangplank of the *Ile de France* with a snow-white Angora[98] goat. All the reporters, who regularly greeted the ships, were there to report on the new arrivals. The story began as a news bite, such as the three-paragraph account of her arrival back in the states, carried by the New York American:

> ***Martha Deane Returns***
> ***With Goat for a Pet***
> ***Radio Entertainer***
> ***'Saved' Animal***
> ***From Butcher***
>
> With a pet goat, Mary Margaret McBride, writer and radio entertainer, who is known on the air as Martha Deane, returned from Europe on the French liner Ile de France, yesterday.
>
> The goat, six month old and called Pierrot, was rescued from a Paris butcher shop by a French dressmaker, a friend of Miss McBride. She gave him to Miss McBride with a specially-made ruffled collar and blue leash.
>
> Pierrot showed his dislike of these accoutrements by trying to eat them on his arrival.[99]

In the American, the brief account was accompanied by a much larger picture, featuring the fashionable two: McBride in her bow-tie hat and Pierrot in his ruffled collar.[100]

Overnight, because of "L'affaire Pierrot," the two of them became front-page news.[101] Before the story was exhausted, three days later, the readers were treated to tears, recrimination, and scientific discussion on goat as carriers of disease. If the people of the city did not know McBride before the incident, they certainly knew the talk-show host after she got her goat -- and irate officials who "got her goat" in return. As Lucy Greenbaum (later Freeman) of The New York Times, wrote about McBride's travels and traivallies with Pierrot, "She has the distinction of bringing to America the first goat to be deported in the history of this nation's immigration."[102]

Readers of the New York newspapers, and WOR Martha Deane listeners, learned that McBride had been given Pierrot by Julliette "Nikki" Nicole as the radio personality embarked from France. Nikki was a fashion designer. Yes, the pictures on Page 1 did not lie. Pierrot had been dressed up in Paris fashions. Upon Pierrot's arrival, one New York Post reporter said the six-month-old kid was "all dressed up [and] fit to kill," with a ruffled collar of blue organdie and a blue felt hat with a white feather.[103] But, the unfortunate goat had been treated to a passage only one step above that of stowaway. Pierrot had made the voyage to America in the ship's dog kennel.[104]

Reporters apparently planned to have fun with the story. One headline in The New York Evening Post declared "Imported Goat Gets Nanny of Confused U.S. Agents."[105] Another Post report said McBride cleared customs in a routine manner, when the Customs Inspector stamped Pierrot's blue-organdie collar and passed him through in the usual way.[106]

McBride also made the most she could of the incident for her radio listeners. She told them she led Pierrot off the ship with a leash.[107] However, before she could get far, her recalcitrant ship companion reportedly ended up "eating her declaration and necessitating its duplication."[108] They learned that McBride had taken the goat home from the ship, to her apartment at 15 Park Avenue.[109]

Someone else was listening. When she received the 10 a.m. phone call the next day from irate authorities, Pierrot had already fled to the countryside, somewhere in Westchester, it was thought. McBride told the authorities that Hattie Silverman at Harrison, N.Y., had called. Reportedly Silverman wanted the goat as a pet for her small son Sidney.[110] If that did not work out for Pierrot, McBride was going to find another home for him. The gist of the matter is: McBride had no idea where that home might be.[111]

With her listeners, McBride shared the differences of opinion concerning Pierrot's welfare and his rights as an illegal entrant to the country. For instance, in the phone call, McBride was apparently informed by the Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture that the goat had entered New York illegally. According to the bureau, the French line should have notified the health officer at Quarantine; further, the customs officials erred in believing Pierrot already had approval to enter the country.[112]

McBride told listeners that Pierrot apparently was an illegal alien because he "didn't have a visa" from the Bureau of Animal Husbandry.[113] The agricultural officials had also informed her that Pierrot could be a potential carrier of hoof-and-mouth disease and that, "he had either nerve, luck, or both, in slipping so easily by the customs."[114]

She assured listeners that she had not had any trouble in "landing" the goat. "Why, they stamped him and I led him right off the dock."[115]

The official at the Department of Agriculture reportedly retorted that she was liable for a $1,000 fine if she did not turn the goat over immediately to be slaughtered or deported.[116]

The bureau was then informed by McBride that Pierrot had a pedigree, and had papers of sponsorship, including that of the American consulate in France and an exclusive Parisian veterinarian.[117]

Nevertheless, Pierrot had to go. During the following broadcast, McBride told her radio audience, in a falsetto serious tone, "They expect me to find the goat."[118]

McBride also told her listeners that everybody blamed everybody else in the incident.[119] And, of course, McBride said "Baa!" to that.

On Day 3, of "L'affaire Pierrot, without the benefit of a hearing,[120] Pierrot was put back on the *Ile de France* by irate Customs officials.[121] There, he was again quartered in the dog kennels and was put under the unlikely care of the ship's butcher.[122] But before the goat left, there were all the fond good-byes, of course, A Post reporter wrote about Pierrot's deportation:

> Pierrot, the goat, merely stood on the deck of the *Ile de France* in a sort of goat-like solitude, ruminating on his lot as the first goat deportee in the history of American immigration. Around stood a group comprising Miss McBride, . . . a customs inspector who had to see that the unwanted goat did not land at the last minute, and some photographers and reporters.[123]

Supposedly, McBride had met Pierrot at the ship to bid him a tearful farewell: "How young -- How tender! Heaven alone knows what will happen to him. I wish there was some assurance he wouldn't be eaten. . . . *So* tender."[124]

A reporter for the New York Herald Tribune noted that McBride kissed Pierrot and let her kid snuggle up to her (reportedly for the benefit of photographers). Pierrot allegedly nuzzled her in return. This time is was his turn to say "Baa!"[125]

It was noted that -- at least -- before Pierrot was ordered to leave the country, he had taken a millionaire's "ride through New York City in a private limousine and passed a pleasant day at a Westchester farm."[126]

One enterprising person in the farewell party had brought "goat edibles," which were placed nearby on the deck with the hope that Pierrot would "eat off the wicker handle or the bright green bow." But Pierrot would not. And, he remained stoic even as McBride dissolved into tears. As one reporter wrote, Pierrot "had not read the newspapers,"[127] so he did not know the full import of being deported.

Reputedly, however, before the *Ile de France* sounded departure, Pierrot nuzzled about in a basket of ship's debris,[128] then grudgingly turned to nibble on the basket's cellophane.[129] As McBride hugged him about the neck, the last camera-shutter clicked and the party broke up.[130]

It was reported that the deported goat "gazed fondly at the shore as the ship pulled out."[131]

Among Pierrot's shipmates were David Sarnoff, president of the Radio Corporation of America, bound for France to visit his children. A decade earlier, Sarnoff had got top billing in a collaborative series of as-told-to articles with McBride when she featured him as "radio rex" in the Saturday Evening Post.[132] It seems Sarnoff got second billing in the current day's news of ship departures.[133] Now it was his turn to say "Baa!"

It was thought that Pierrot might be unclaimed when he returned to France. If so, it seemed he was destined for "a short -- *if eventful* -- life."[134]

There were rumors that the French officials upon Pierrot's return refused to allow the goat back into his homeland: he was to be a goat without a country Fortunately, however, someone interceded. When the goat arrived in Havre, he was reportedly "met with great *eclat*" by Julliette Nicole, the Paris *couturiere* who originally had given the goat to McBride and who later became the talkshow host's fashion designer. Nicole convinced French officials to allow her to ship Pierrot to Pau, in southern

France, where her mother had a farm. Pierrot would not feel "put out" if he were put out to pasture.[135]

But the story was not over yet. McBride told listeners Pierrot indeed was "a goat without a country" -- until someone finally ate him up.[136] So, Pierrot did escape the ship butcher's larder only to be eaten by a farmer. A person might even say about the whole incident -- somebody got her goat, and in more ways than one.

Karn, ever attuned to positive publicity, sardonically complained to McBride that it was too bad the not-so-old goat had not been "a little lamb" -- "Mary and her little lamb would have been a [more] wonderful story."[137] It is difficult to imagine how -- Pierrot generated perhaps a half dozen stories in each of the major newspapers in New York, including The New York Times. Lucy Greenbaum of The Times suggests that the goat incident came at a time when the American people knew the disenfranchised of Europe needed help:

> It is simple to see how Miss Mcbride could have become involved in such a situation. She probably liked goats. She certainly liked the Parisian friend who gave her the goat. And she had faith in the American people and their tendency to take to their hearts the helpless of the world.[138]

McBride reportedly was quite amused with the publicity surrounding the international incident. But best of all, she liked an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor, which suggested the whole Pierrot incident was nothing more than the Roosevelt administration raising "a goatish fuss to divert the electorate's attention" from political events occurring around that time.[139]

Goats were not the only animals to make it into McBride's public life. Many other breeds had made it into her newspaper columns for the Evening Mail, where she worked as a reporter during the early 1920s. Others were now featured on the air. Interviewing animals -- a lion cub, a baby camel and kinkajou -- on a live radio broadcast was one of McBride's more challenging assignments. A favorite of viewers was "Gallant Bess, The Talking Horse," who made horsefaces at the mike -- and whispered.[140]

A man from a zoo brought two owls, which flew to the top of the three-story studio.[141] Babies, newborn calves, and even goldfish were named after the talk show hostess. A talking dog, once came to the program to say, "Martha Deane."[142] Not just any animal could make it on the show: "But the guest tortoise of St. Helena who was alive when Napoleon was still living rated as a tortoise with human interest."[143]

McBride once regaled listeners with the man in Florida who had a cockroach racing stable, and how the man "brought them up carefully" to become the best racers.[144] Another time, she interviewed the manager of an Alaskan dogsled team.[145] As far as can be ascertained, a lion had never made a guest appearance; a lion-tamer came instead.[146]

Then there was the famous -- or infamous -- bear incident. The then-100-pound Karn punched a bear guest in the nose because it wouldn't leave the studio when she commanded it to.[147]

In fact, a precocious pet became the guest McBride could not shut up, even when the show had to end. McBride described the program, which occurred on one of her later radio broadcasts in the 1940s, after she had moved to NBC: "It was Raffles, the Mynah bird! When human guests get out of hand, I just say firmly, " This is my program, anybody who wants to talk. Raise your hand!"[148]

But Raffles was different. McBride called him the demon bird:[149]

> To shut him up, his owners put a black cloth over his cage -- that only hurt his feelings. He knew one certain way to get attention -- he started singing "The Star-Spangled Banner." We had to shut up because you can't interrupt the national anthem. Not even the NBC chimes can interrupt the national anthem -- so they had to leave our program on the air overtime, until Raffles finally stopped![150]

One of her favorite guests was the Panda Lady, who went with her husband to China to bring back a giant panda. McBride said of Julia Harkness: "She was manna to me, for she was full of odd [animal] facts. She told me that a curator of birds had once estimated the during her three expeditions she had eaten more than $20,000 worth of pheasant. That stuck in my mind."[151]

A dinosaur egg that Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, director of the American Museum of Natural History, had brought to an interview was lost, leading to a long and fruitless search. By mistake, Karn had put the dinosaur egg into her purse and rushed off to a business and luncheon conference.[152]

It was with such innovative programming that in 1936, McBride was awarded a medal by the Women's National Exposition of the Arts and Industries for the year's "greatest contribution to radio."[153] A year later, in a formal presentation, McBride, at the Grand Central Palace, passed on the annual award to the great Kate Smith.[154]

At the exposition that McBride finally met Hattie Silverman in person, goatkeeper, and a listener who was invited to the program because she had been writing to McBride for more than a year -- ever since *L'affaire Pierrot*. McBride asked, Would you like to see some of the exhibits with me?" After McBride was mobbed with people, and they became separated. The radio personality worked her way back to Silverman, who threw her arms around her and kissed her, and -- from that moment -- they became best friends.[155]

Other early honors hinted at things to come. McBride broadcasted from the Waldorf-Astoria, where she was named winner of the annual award of the Wallpaper Institute for stimulating better decoration in American homes.[156] The journalist was also working on her book about the radio program, entitled, Here's Martha Deane, which was published by Garden City Publishing Company (1937).[157]

Executives from broadcasting stations around the nation began to visit the program and talk to its successful host. McBride said, "They wanted to know why it had succeeded; I couldn't tell them."[158] In 1936, her journalism school had established a laboratory for radio news broadcasting, setting up a cooperative arrangement with the Missourian, the school newspaper; KFRU, the local studio for the St. Louis Star-Times; and the United Press Association.[159] Earl English said, in Journalism Education at the University of Missouri, that faculty and students alike were realizing that radio had become an important new means of disseminating news to the public.[160]

On Dec. 14, 1937, one of McBride's old professors from the university was in town. Missouri's journalism dean and old professor, Frank Martin, was honored in Manhattan by Missourians, with a stag dinner at the New York Advertising Club.[161] Perhaps he entertained the assembled alumni with his wry humor. A much-quoted anecdote about Martin was that "no one was more surprised than he to see this man or this woman had finally amounted to something in the newspaper world."[162] Of course, McBride could not attend the stag luncheon, but perhaps she was too busy becoming someone who amounted to something -- an international radio celebrity.

During the time, a publicity release from Columbia Broadcasting System noted that McBride, with her Missouri twang, had a Paris [Mo.] "postmark" on every broadcast. The Missouri locales, who heard her on KNOX, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 11 a.m., did not mind being called "you-all" by their native daughter. Nor were they bothered by her "eether" and "tomayto" and dozens of other pronunciations that define Americanese, the Middle Western speech described by H.L. Mencken as exuberant -- "clear, distinct, extremely logical and not unmusical."[163] A writer from the Midwest noted that 19 years in Mid-Manhattan had not changed McBride's accent by a single long 'a'."[164] And, she was still prone to say that Missouri exclamation -- "Goodness!" -- when something horrified her.[165]

New Yorkers' Manhattanese could not take Missouri out of the former farm girl. McBride said it gave her a chill to hear people talking about "vahzes" and "secr'taries" and "Pahk Awvenyoo," even when she attended the "high-ermined and ordacious affair" like the opening night of Kaufman and Hart's "I'd Rather Be Right."[166]

The prolific McBride continued to write magazine articles. She became a regular and exclusive contributor to Cosmopolitan. Her first article as a contract writer for the magazine was, appropriately enough, a paean to Christmas in Missouri. Following the publication of the holiday article, thousands of letters reportedly poured into the offices of the magazine.[167] An Cosmopolitan editor said it was possible that "Mary Margaret would continue to write her articles -- even if she received not a penny of remuneration for them."[168] The article continues: "Financially, she is well fixed and her income from her radio work runs into astounding figures. By comparison her magazine writing brings her magnificently small sums. But the joy she gets out of creating, out of putting words down on paper, that is her reward.[169]

From Martha to Mary Margaret

From 1937 to 1940, McBride was known as Mary Deane on WOR five times a week. Also, she was known as Mary Margaret McBride on her own 15-minute network program with CBS,[170] broadcast out of WABC and sponsored by General Foods, three times a week, from noon to 12:15 p.m.[171]

McBride was not the first women reporter to broadcast over the CBS network. Marion Marzolf noted that a woman was on the first radio news team put together by Paul White in 1933. The woman reporter was Florence Conley, of the New York Journal-American. Like McBride. Conley reportedly pulled off exclusive interviews. Marzolf said Conley interviewed Doris Duke, the richest girl in world, on her 21st birthday.[172]

McBride, however, was the first woman talkshow host on the network. CBS capitalized on the former reporter's expanded network coverage. In April 1938, CBS released a photo of a WABC on-air

McBride interview with another Karn prodigy launched by WOR, Paul Whiteman, the jazz impresario.[173] It was like a homecoming for McBride because she had interviewed Whiteman a decade earlier for an as-told-to magazine article, featured in the Saturday Evening Post.[174] The magazine interview had resulted in a collaborative book called Blues, edited by E.C. Handy.[175] Now their roles had significantly changed. Like Whiteman, McBride had some claim to fame and renown. In McBride's dual role as talkshow host on WOR and CBS, she made around $50,000 to $100,000 a year.[176]

During this time of double broadcasts, the radio personality reportedly received 1,800 letters a day from her fans.[177] As Mary Deane, she also got letters from listeners telling her that Mary Margaret McBride was imitating her, but not doing a very good job of it.[178] By now, WOR executives had changed they minds about the value of "pretty small talk." They argued that the name "Martha Deane" was the property of WOR and "the station had no intention of allowing McBride to take the pseudonym with her to CBS."[179] Therefore, she was "Mary Margaret McBride" on the CBS network show.

Others were looking at McBride with new interest. Back in Missouri, because of the network program, people who knew her as a high school alumna from William Woods College and a college journalist at the University of Missouri were beginning to take notice of the radio personality. As a result of the CBS network broadcast, many believed McBride was a home economics specialist. In March 1938, William Woods College installed a radio in Dulany Auditorium so that McBride could carry her home economics program during the regular chapel hour. Broadcasting over CBS, McBride talked about her years at the Fulton school.[180] In May 1938, newspapers noted that Mary Margaret McBride of the Columbia Broadcasting System was called home to the University of Missouri to receive the medal of honor awarded annually by vote of faculty to outstanding journalists and journalistic publications by the School of Journalism, beginning in 1930. Dean Walter Williams, who had been McBride's dean during her years at Missouri, had made the first awards to E.W. Stephens of the Herald (Columbia, Mo.) and Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, accepting on behalf of the New York Times.[181]

Reportedly, the faculty chose McBride because she was considered one of the three or four most distinguished women journalists in the country. At the time, acting Dean Roscoe Ellard spoke of her accomplishments. Again, she was talked about in terms of high salary. Ellard quoted a news story that had recorded her 1937 income as $52,000[182] (to be exact, $52,231 for 1936).[183] The announcement was released in a report of the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee of Congress collected from corporations who earned $15,000 or more during the 1936 tax year. McBride was listed as an artist of the Radio Quality Group Service, Inc. of New York City. Only one other woman appeared in the top brackets, Lillian S. Dodge, president and treasurer of Harriet Hubbard Ayer, Inc., who received $100,000.[184]

Behind the scenes, Ellard justified the faculty's choice, writing a memorandum to University President F.A. Middlebush about McBride. Ellard told Middlebush that she had authored several books and published in the popular magazines, such as Woman's Home Companion and Good Housekeeping.[185]

In receiving the Medal of Honor, McBride broke two records. The medal had neither gone to a woman, nor a radio personality before.[186] Another recipient that year was E.E. Swain of The Kirksville, Mo., Daily Press.[187] During the ceremony, newspaper awards went to The New York Sun and The Toronto Star.[188]

Henry L. Stoddard her old boss and former city editor of the New York Evening Mail sent along his good wishes with McBride. Stoddard congratulated Dean Walter williams on the choice of McBride for the honor, and said she had brought to newspaper writing "the highest qualities of industry, integrity and intelligence."[189]

There was one stipulation about the award. She had to come to Missouri to accept the honor in person. Ellard said McBride was moved by the notification, but was unable to come to Columbia during the alumni week because of her broadcast commitments. A special coast-to-coast hook-up was arranged, with help from Ellard. McBride also helped a little. She reportedly paid $300 to make the hook-up possible. During the broadcast, she delivered a response to the award, then devoted the remainder of her program to a discussion about the School of Journalism and the university.[190] Later, President Middlebush received a profuse thank you letter from McBride, who said she was deeply touched by the honor.[191]

To explain the McBride phenomenon, it should be pointed out that other women professionals were still struggling to be recognized. In the 1930s, most of the women graduates from the School of journalism continued to work within the state from which they had matriculated. The Missourian reported in an informal survey that women graduates of the School of journalism had a stronghold on jobs in St. Louis.[192] McBride was one of the few that had gained a national audience. In 1938, a less metorious event conceming a woman student had also taken place at the School of Journalism. Lucille Buford, a black journalism graduate at the University of Kansas, had attempted admittance at the University of Missouri. She sued after being denied, but lost her case because of the "separate but equal" policy of Missouri's constitution (Years later, the school would award Buford the same medal as McBride for distinguished service -- in 1984.).[193]

On the fifth anniversary of McBride's first broadcast, on May 31, 1939, 25,000 women came to hear her at a big public appearance at Grand Central Palace -- only several hundred were expected.[194] It is indeed fortunate that the radio never got around to firing her for murdering grandmother. Life could not have been better.

The ensuing summer season included hibemation at California's own sunny, sleepy San Rafael."[195] On July 29, "Martha Dean" gave her weekly broadcast from a San Francisco radio station, before an audience of 30 to 40 newspaper reporters and advertising executives.[196] Zeta Eetcourt, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, wrote: "Fame: Mary Margaret McBride, New York newspaper woman, is known as the feminine Walter Winchell."[197] Eetcourt said: "It gives us a nice comfortable feeling to know that a gal born in a town called Paris in Missouri and whose newspaper work has been confined chiefly to the women's pages has made the highest brackets of success."[198]

While visiting the New York World's Fair that August, McBride posed in the Missouri building, in front of the exhibit of an old log cabin from Taney County. The photograph was carried in the Sunday edition of the Kansas City Star, with the caption that McBride, a Missourian, had become "a distinguished writer."[199] She must have been very pleased to be called that.

In October 1939, McBride served toastmaster to the 500 members of the New York League of Business and Professional Women (BPW), who were warned by a distinguished slate of guests that the country could be pulled into war. McBride introduced Dr. Minnie Maffett of Dallas and president of the national organization, who declared that "in this time of world crisis, the problem of business women in a democracy takes on a new an vital significance."[200] The words were certainly prophetic as far as McBride was concemed. In a few short years she would often be called upon to speak to women about their duty to country during World War II.[201]

Perhaps McBride sensed the inevitability of a coming conflict. The next speaker was Carl Byoir, the distinguished public relations counsel, who said that war had already come to America. He said that

German and the U.S.S.R. had long been engaged in an undeclared war against the American free-enterprise system and the country's form of government.[202]

McBride then introduced the notable Anne O'Hare McCormick, foreign correspondent for The New York Times, who told the assembled that the lives of Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini lack the influence of women.[203] George Sokolsky of the New York Herald Tribune then spoke. Sokolsky took exception to the theory "that women had to fight for their rights to a greater degree than men." He said women needed to "return to the problems of this country."[204]

That spring of 1940, McBride was the first woman invited to be the commencement speaker at her high school alma mater, William Woods.[205] By this time, the school officials had learned she was more than a specialist in home economics. They wanted to capitalize on her fame. After giving the address, she was to go to Paris to speak at a banquet sponsored by a group of women's clubs. En route from Fulton to Paris, McBride stopped by The Mexico Ledger,[206] where she had held her first job out of college -- as the city editor for the small-town newspaper.

Shortly after all these travels and honors, a network sponsor wanted to change her time. McBride said she magnified it into a major tragedy. McBride wanted a later hour. They offered a raise in pay. Against Karn's advice, McBride insisted upon giving up her sponsor. Shortly thereafter, McBride's mother died in Florida.[207] McBride was overwhelmed with grief, and her decisions of the period are colored by it. Nina Oliver Dean, a Florida writer who used to show her the state and help with McBride's broadcasts when the program in Florida, wrote about strong maternal influence of Elizabeth Craig McBride toward her daughter.[208]

In October 1940, the most listened-to woman on the air[209] was involved in negotiations to switch from a regional to a national market when she signed a new contract with the CBS network, for an additional 30 months, dropping the longer WOR programming. She went from a 45-minute show to a 15-minute broadcast. In press releases, CBS billed her as a "radio columnist."[210] Her new show was a 15-minute network show sponsored program by the Florida Citrus Commission, to air at 3 a.m.[211] She had an affection for the state, and no doubt that influenced her choice for sponsors as well.[212]

Because Florida had become a sanctuary to her mother in her last years and later a retirement home for McBride herself, the state became as familiar to McBride as her native Missouri. When her family first moved there, she went to visit them in their little house near Orlando, where McBride said she had "the rapturous experience of sleeping the moonlight night through in a grove of flowering orange trees."[213]

Following the death of her mother and the change in programming, McBride went with Karn on a six-week vacation, which included a four-week sabbatical to Alaska. McBride would only have the vaguest remembrances of the trip.[214] When they returned she finally broke it to her listeners that she was leaving the Martha Deane program. Her theme song, "Beautiful Lady," was played on the organ. Dick Willard was there to announce for the last time: "Here's Martha Deane" and they had a jam session. Hattie Silverman said the program that stood out in her memory -- of all the McBride broadcasts -- was that one, in which McBride had just come back, after from her mother's death. By then Silverman was a part of the extended radio family.[215]

Immediate changes in McBride's radio life were unsettling. A deal was negotiated whereby WOR agreed not to use the name of Martha Deane in return for her personal endorsement of her successor on the MBS station, Bessie Beatty.[216] Eventually the verbal agreement was discarded: there were two Martha Deanes,[217] but not before a lot of hard feelings had surfaced.

McBride's move to the network program sponsored by the citrus growers turned out to be a bad decision because the commission members argued among themselves about her hiring.[218] While McBride struggled with her new sponsor and her shortened 15-minute format, the new WOR Deane emcees continued to broadcast with great success. McBride learned it was her chatty formula that had made the Deane program a success for the sponsors. For a while McBride grew bitter, thinking she had made the wrong move by dropping the original WOR station broadcast.[219]

Some of her actions at the time, as she worked through the grief of her mother's death, and the loss of the Deane show, can only be described as bizarre. Only a month into the programming change, McBride admits that she was galled by Beatty having taken over the program, even though she was the one who suggested it. The first Christmas Beatty was on the air, McBride went to visit the Haders, friends from earlier days, which she visited annually at Christmas. The holiday show had always been broadcast over WOR from the Hader home along the Hudson. After McBride discovered the traditional Christmas broadcast was going on as scheduled with Beatty as Martha Deane, she said, "I climbed the stairs with my bag and came right down again." McBride told Berta Hader she was sick. She left the cakes and candies from fans unwrapped. She went home to Manhattan -- and *never again* went to the

Hader's for the holidays.[220]

She gave the Haders new names on her broadcasts -- Allen and Amelia -- and ignored when listeners asked why she never mentioned Berta and Elmer Hader anymore. She later wrote Berta that she was going to stop seeing her and to stop trying to be friends. Berta Hader hurried to New York and implored McBride to relent, "I am not going to let you cut yourself off from us. You need your friends now more than ever."[221] This was to no avail.

Beatty, incidentally, soon handed the program over to another of McBride's friends, Marion Young. The new talkshow host continued on as Martha Deane for more than a decade, although she was later moved to a 10:15 to 11 a.m. program slot. Young never had the broad base of listeners. Therefore, she was never able to capitalize on the program in the way McBride and Beatty had. Reportedly, Young did not open her personal life to the radio audience in the way McBride had done. For instance, viewers only learned the day before Young went to the hospital on New Year's Eve 1943 that she was expecting a baby. WOR soon announced why she was missing broadcasts: she had given birth to twins. However, during Young's radio days, the prim and proper talkshow host did pull off several major coups, such as visiting the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, whom she had visited in Nassau and Schiaparelli.[222]

It is not known whether it were Beatty or Young referred to by Mcbride, when she told Bennett Cerf she had helped an imitator get a job, and the person had in turn worked against her. Apparently, Mcbride told Cerf "the lady showed her gratitude by deriding the pulling power of the McBride program."[223] You might say, the whole affair got her goat. Cerf said, "The moral seems to be that if you must compete with a Mary Margaret McBride, you are better off restricting your diet to the products you recommend than biting the hand that fed you."[224]

McBride could afford to be magnanimous to imitators, considering her rock-solid celebrity status. A short month into the CBS network programming, the radio personality turned the heartland. She was the first woman in Missouri's history to have a day named in her honor.[225] Back in Missouri, in publicizing the event, The Mexico Ledger noted that McBride had also received an "Award of Merit" from the Movie-Radio Guide for "excellence in broadcasting."[226] Making the presentation in New York on the Friday, Nov. 15, McBride broadcast was Curtis Mitchell, another Ledger alumnus, who reportedly said the talkshow host had brought romance to the drudgery of housework."[227] Mitchell noted McBride had pioneered a new form of radio program -- the informal chatty talk.[228] Dick Dorrance wrote a thumbnail sketch (edited by Mitchell) on her accomplishments in the Movie-Radio Guide, an article that waxed long about her rescuing housewives from their daily "prisons" of household drudgery. It was apparently written by someone who had a very stylized image of the woman of the 1930s, not altogether complimentary:[229]

> It is a pleasure that comes from simple things, from a simplicity that can be engendered only by sincerity. It is based on a gentle voice, a soft personality, the careful choice of plain words to describe a multitude of wonderful matters beyond the lives of the average women radio listeners. And so through a succession of years, the voice of Mary Margaret McBride has become an integral part of the daily routine of American women -- a routine of domesticity that starts when the breakfast coffee goes on the stove and knows no pause until the last light is turned out at night. The daily broadcasts are ranked as an event to these women -- as a window through which they may watch the world go by and escape momentarily from a prison of dullness.[230]

In these early years of good pay for radio broadcasting, McBride's sole extravagance had been a chain of amber beads purchased from Manhattan's Vantine's for $260. A writer for the New York Evening Post noted that McBride sometimes could be seen flouncing along Fifth Avenue, with the expensive necklace adorning a gingham dress.[231] On her return to Missouri, the conquering hero wore a mink. Mary Margaret McBride Day was -- to use the talkshow host's vernacular, "a high-ermined and ordacious affair." For the celebration in Mexico, Kam stepped in again, forcing McBride to buy the fur coat. Kam said, "I have one, and I don't want those people in Missouri to think I'm stealing your money."[232] McBride is said to have replied, "Well, now, that sounds reasonable enough."[233]

Apparently, this time no one got her goat.

Endnotes

1. Ben Gross, I Looked and I Listened [Informal Recollections of Radio and TV] (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 126.
2. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 126.
3. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 126.
4. Mary Margaret McBride, Out of the Air, about the golden decades of radio broadcasting (New York: Doubleday, 1960, p. 63.
5. Mary Braggiotti, "Yankee Stadium's None Too Big" in New York Evening Post (May 27, 1949).
6. Braggiotti, "Yankee . . . Big," New York Evening Post (May 27, 1949).
7. Sidney Fields, "Only Human" Column in The New York Daily Mirror (October 24, 1953).
8. Braggiotti, "Yankee . . . Big," New York Evening Post (May 27, 1949).
9. Mary Margaret McBride, Out of the Air, about the golden decades of radio broadcasting (New York: Doubleday, 1960).
10. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 20.
11. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 20.
12. Mary Margaret McBride, entry in Current biography (1941), p. 54.
13. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 20.
14. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 21.
15. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 23.
16. McBride, Current biography (1941), p. 54.
17. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 142.
18. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 22.
19. Bennett Cerf, "Here Comes McBride" (Portrait), Trade Winds Column in Saturday Review of Literature 30 (March 1, 1947): p. 5.
20. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 23.

21. Enid Haupt, "Radio's Miss Aladdin" in Radio-Movie Guide (April 1943), p. 53. [Mary Margaret McBride morgue file, #141630, The New York Times].

22. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 23.

23. Curtis Mitchell, "Mary Margaret's Magic" in Coronet 35 (January 1954): p. 134.

24. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 23.

25. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 19.

26. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 63.

27. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 74.

28. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 63.

29. Marion Marzolf, Up From the Footnote (New York: Hastings House, 1977), p. 127.

30. McBride, Out of the Air, pp. 24-25.

31. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 75.

32. "Mary Margaret McBride Zips to New High With Listeners" in Life (April 5, 1948).

33. Cerf, "Here Comes McBride," Saturday Review of Literature, p. 4.

34. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 123.

35. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 118.

36. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

37. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

38. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 371.

39. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 118.

40. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

41. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

42. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 121.

43. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

44. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 142.

45. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 119.

46. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 13.

47. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 29.

48. Barbara Heggie, "Mary Margaret's Miracle" in Woman's Home Companion 76 (April 1949): p. 81.

49. Ben Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 138.

50. Mary Margaret McBride, Famed Ledger Alumna, Dies" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (April 8, 1976).

51. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 29.

52. Mary Margaret McBride, Here's Martha Deane (New York: Garden City, 1936), p. 30.

53. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 128.

54. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 128.

55. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 128.

56. Isbella Taves, Article in Successful Women (No month, 1943). Cited in McBride entry in Contemporary Authors (March 1954), collected volume, p. 422.

57. Enid Haupt, "Radio's Miss Aladdin" in Movie-Radio Guide (April 1943), p. 53 [Mary Margaret McBride's morgue file, #141630, The New York Times].

58. Haupt, "Radio's Miss Aladdin," Movie-Radio Guide, p. 53.

59. "Mary Margaret McBride," morgue file #141630 in The New York Times (March 2, 1935).

60. McBride, Out of the Air, pp. 44-45.

61. Mary Margaret McBride, Tune in for Elizabeth [Career Story of a Radio Interviewer] (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1945), p. 163.

62. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 13.

63. Allen Churchill, "Mary Margaret McBride" in The American Mercury 63: 301 (January 1949), p. 8.

64. Barbara Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," profile on Mary Margaret McBride in The New Yorker 18 (December 19, 1942): p. 29.

65. Collie Small, "Private Life of a Pied Piper" in Collier's (December 4, 1948), pp. 28, 36-37.

66. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 118.

67. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 30.

68. Entry on Mary Margaret McBride, Current Biography 2, 4 (April 1941): p. 53.

69. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 45.

70. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 192+.

71. Durward Howes, editor, American Women, biographical entry on Mary Margaret McBride (n. pub., n.p.n). Mentioned in News Item in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (July 2, 1935).

72. McBride, Tune in for Elizabeth, p. 161.

73. Mary Margaret McBride, America for Me (New York, MacMillan, 1941), p. 6.

74. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 277.

75. McBride, America for Me, p. 7.

76. Philip Hamburger, "Mary Margaret McBride: A Supersaleswoman Shares Adventures of Mind and Stomach With a Host of Radio Listeners" in Life 17 (December 4, 1944), p. 48.

77. Hamburger, "Mary Margaret McBride: A Supersaleswoman . . .," Life, p. 48.

78. Hamburger, "Mary Margaret McBride: A Supersaleswoman . . .," Life, pp. 47-49.

79. Starlines, Press Release from Columbia Broadcasting System (485 Madison Avenue); dated February. 23, 1938, and included in McBride's morgue file at The New York Times, #141630).

80. Heggie, "Mary Margaret's Miracle," Woman's Home Companion, p. 83.

81. "Gossip of the Kilocycles: Miss McBride (also Miss Deane) Gets Annual Gift Shower" in Newsweek 12 (November 21, 1938): p. 22.

82. Time (December 2, 1946), p. 82.

83. Heggie, "Mary Margaret's Miracle," Woman's Home Companion, p. 81.

84. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 69.

85. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 78.

86. Braggiotti, "Yankee . . . Big," New York Evening Post (May 17, 1949).

87. Michael Mok, "She's Lyrical About Electric Irons: Martha Deane Just Simply Goes Into Ecstasies in Air Discussions of Products She Pushes" in New York Evening Post (August 13, 1936).

88. Mok, "She's Lyrical About . . . ," New York Post (August 13, 1936).

89. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 51.

90. "28 Career Women Are Honored Here" in The New York Times (March 23, 1935).

91. Curtis Mitchell, "Mary Margaret's Magic" in Coronet 35 (January 1954): p. 135.

92. "Girl Scouts Feast on 11th-Story Corn" in The New York Times (August 8, 1935).

93. "Girl Scouts Feast . . . ," The New York Times (August 8, 1935).

94. "Girl Scouts Feast . . . ," The New York Times (August 8, 1935).

95. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 51.

96. McBride, Here's Martha Deane, p. 30.

97. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 44.

98. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat" in New York Evening Post (July 23, 1936).

99. "Martha Deane Returns With Goat for a Pet" in New York American (July 22, 1936).

100. "Martha Deane Returns . . . ," New York American (July 22, 1936).

101. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 52.

102. Lucy Greenbaum (Freeman), "All About M.M.McB." in The New York Times (May 28, 1944).

103. "Imported Goat Gets Nanny of Confused U.S. Agents" in New York Evening Post (July 22, 1936).

104. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 52.

105. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 52.

106. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat; Pierrot Unmoved, but His Owner Is in Tears" in The New York Times (July 24, 1936).

107. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

108. "Imported Goat Gets Nanny . . . , " New York Evening Post (July 22, 1936).

109. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

110. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," New York Evening Post (July 24, 1936).

111. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

112. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss McBride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

113. "U.S. Sends Goat Back to France" in New York Evening Post (July 23, 1936).

114. "Imported Goat Gets Nanny . . . ," New York Evening Post (July 22, 1936).

115. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

116. "Goat Is Object of U.S. Hunt of Illegal Entry" in New York Herald Tribune (July 23, 1936).

117. "Imported Goat Gets Nanny . . . ," in New York Evening Post (July 22, 1936).

118. "U.S. Fails to Get Miss M'Bride's Goat," The New York Times (July 23, 1936).

119. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," The New York Times (July 24, 1936).

120. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat; He Sees City by Limousine" in New York Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

121. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

122. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," New York Evening Post (July 24, 1936).

123. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," New York Evening Post (July 24, 1936).

124. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

125. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

126. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

127. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," New York Evening Post (July 24, 1936).

128. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

129. "U.S. Sends Goat Back to France," New York Evening Post (July 23, 1936).

130. "Government Deports Miss McBride's Goat . . . ," The New York Times (July 24, 1936).

131. "U.S. Sends Goat Back to France," New York Evening Post (July 23, 1936).

132. David Sarnoff, with Mary Margaret McBride, "Radio" in Saturday Evening Post 199: pp. 8-9 (August 7, 1926 & August 14, 1926).

133. "U.S. Sends Goat Back to France," New York Evening Post (July 23, 1936).

134. "Deport Pierrot, the Goat . . . ," Herald Tribune (July 24, 1936).

135. Mok, "She's Lyrical About Electric Irons . . . ," New York Evening Post (August 13, 1936).

136. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 53.

137. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 63.

138. Greenbaum, "All About M.M.McB.," The New York Times (May 28, 1944).

139. Mok, "She's Lyrical About Electric Irons . . . ," New York Evening Post (August 13, 1936).

140. Time (December 2, 1946), p. 81.

141. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 61.

142. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 74.

143. McBride, Current Biography (1941), p. 53.

144. McBride, Here's Martha Deane, p. 267.

145. Small, "Private Life of a Pied Piper," Collier's.

146. Mary Margaret McBride, 'First Lady of Radio'," Obituary in Newsday (April 8, 1976); Associated Press (West Shokan, N.Y.).

147. Mary Margaret McBride, "My Most Unforgettable Character" [about Estella Karn] in Reader's Digest (January 1962), p. 99.

148. Tex McCrary and Jinx Faulkenburg, "New York Close-Up" in New York Herald Tribune (April 5, 1950).

149. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 230.

150. McCrary and Faulkenburg, "New York Close-Up," Herald Tribune (April 5, 1950).

151. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 224.

152. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 226.

153. Entry on McBride, Current Biography (1941), pp. 52-54.

154. "Home Arts Viewed by Mrs. Roosevelt" in The New York Times (April 2, 1947).

155. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 100.

156. "Gets Institute Award" in New York Evening Post (August 6, 1937).

157. Here's Martha Deane, Garden City Publishing House, 1937 ($1).

158. McBride, Tune in for Elizabeth, p. 52.

159. Earl English, Journalism Education at the University of Missouri-Columbia (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1988), p. 57.

160. English, Journalism Education at . . . Columbia, p. 58.

161. English, Journalism Education at . . . Columbia, p. 60.

162. English, Journalism Education at . . . Columbia, p. 74.

163. "Mary Margaret McBride Retains Paris, Mo., Accent" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Missouri (December 7, 1937).

164. "Mary Margaret McBride Retains . . . Accent," The Ledger (December 7, 1937).

165. "Mary Margaret McBride Retains . . . Accent," The Ledger (December 7, 1937).

166. "Mary Margaret McBride Retains . . . Accent" The Ledger (December 7, 1937).

167. "Miss M'Bride Cosmopolitan Contributor" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (November 20, 1940).

168. "Miss M'Bride Cosmopolitan Contributor," The Ledger (November 20, 1940).

169. "Miss M'Bride Cosmopolitan Contributor," The Ledger (November 20, 1940).

170. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 32.

171. Starlines, Press Release from Columbia Broadcasting System (485 Madison Avenue); dated February 23, 1938, and included in McBride's morgue file at The New York Times, #141630).

172. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 129.

173. "Mary Margaret McBride interviews PAUL WHITEMAN" [sic]. Title of CBS Photo, released April 9, 1938.

174. Paul Whiteman, as told to Mary Margaret McBride, "Jazz," Portraits in Saturday Evening Post 198: pp. 3-5 (February 27, 1926); 198: 32-33 (March 6, 1926); and 198: pp. 28-29 (March 13, 1926).

175. Mary Margaret McBride and Paul Whiteman, Blues: An Anthology. Edited by E. C. Handy. With Introduction by Abbe Niles. New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1926.

176. "Goo," Portrait in Time 36 (November 25, 1940): p. 56.

177. "Gossip of the Kilocycles: Miss McBride (also Martha Deane) Gets Annual Gift Shower" in Newsweek 12 (November 21, 1938), p. 22.

178. John K. Hutchens, "Out of the Air," Book Review in New York Herald Tribune (December 2, 1960).

179. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 32.

180. "Mary McBride in William Woods Talk" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (March 18, 1938).

181. "Journalism Honor Medalists," List compiled by School of Journalism, University of Missouri, updated annually.

182. Roscoe Ellard, acting dean, University of Missouri School of Journalism, memorandum to President F.A. Middlebush (March 30, 1938). president's Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 21 Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

183. "Miss M'Bride Gets $52,231 Annual Pay" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (January 13, 1938).

184. "Miss M'Bride Gets $52,231 Annual Pay," The Ledger (January 13, 1938).

185. Roscoe Ellard, acting dean, University of Missouri School of Journalism, memorandum to President F.A. Middlebush (March 30, 1938). president's Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 21 Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

186. "Radio News-caster Wins Writing Medal" in Young American (June 17, 1938) [McBride's morgue file, #141620, in The New York Times].

187. "Give Journalism Awards" in The New York Times (May 13, 1938).

188. "Give Journalism Awards," The New York Times (May 13, 1938).

189. Sara Lockwood Williams Papers, Folders 884, 911, 914. 1938 letter from Henry L. Stoddard extolling the virtues of McBride. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, 23 Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

190. Roscoe Ellard, acting dean, University of Missouri School of Journalism, memorandum to President F.A. Middlebush (March 30, 1938). President's Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 21 Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

191. Mary Margaret McBride, letter to F.A. Middlebush, from 230 Central Park South (received December 18, 1950). President's Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 21 Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

192. English, Journalism Education at . . . Columbia, p. 66.

193. English, Journalism Education at . . . Columbia, p. 85.

194. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 53.

195. "Calls Miss McBride a 'Feminine Winchell'" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (July 28, 1939).

196. "Calls Miss McBride '. . . Winchell'," The Ledger (July 28, 1939).

197. "Calls Miss McBride '. . . Winchell'" in The Mexico Ledger (July 28, 1939).

198. "Calls Miss McBride '. . . Winchell'," The Ledger (July 28, 1939).

199. "Miss McBride Poses at Missouri Exhibit" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (August 7, 1939).

200. "Business Women Open Their Week" in The New York Times (October 10, 1939). "Women's Week Arranged" in The New York Times (October 9, 1939).

201. "Business Women Open Their Week" in The New York Times (October 10, 1939).

202. "Business Women Open Their Week" The New York Times (October 10, 1939).

203. "Business Women Open Their Week," The New York Times (October 10, 1939).

204. "Business Women Open Their Week," The New York Times (October 10, 1939).

205. "Famous William Woods Alumna Dies" in Kingdom Daily News (April 20, 1976).

206. "Miss Mary Margaret McBride Visit Here" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (May 29, 1940).

207. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 96.

208. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 97.

209. Entry on McBride, Current Biography (1941), p. 52.

210. "Mary Margaret McBride -- Radio Columnist," press release from Columbia Biographical Service, Columbia Broadcasting System (October 28, 1937), in morgue file of The New York Times.

211. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 32.

212. In October 1940, she lived at 56 W. 45th Street, Current Biography, April 1941, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 52.

213. Mary Margaret McBride, "Southern Cooking" in Part II of series called "My American Cookbook [from Harvest of American Cooking, Putnam, 1956] in Woman's Home Companion (June 1956), p. 67.

214. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 99.

215. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 100.

216. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 32.

217. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 32.

218. McBride, Out of the Air, pp. 103-104.

219. Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," The New Yorker, p. 33.

220. McBride, Out of the Air, p.103.

221. McBride, Out of the Air, p.104.

222. Lucy Freeman, "Radio's Miss Deane" in The New York Times (August 26, 1951).

223. Bennett Cerf, "Here Comes McBride" in Saturday Review of Literature 30 (March 1, 1947), p. 5.

224. Cerf, "Here Comes McBride," Saturday Review of Literature, p. 5.

225. News Item in The New York Times (November 8, 1939).

226. "Miss M'Bride Honored With Award" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (November 13, 1940).

227. "Miss M'Bride Honored . . . ," The Ledger (November 13, 1940).

228. "Miss M'Bride Honored . . . ," The Ledger (November 13, 1940).

229. "Mary Margaret McBride, Here Nov. 22, Is 'Specialist in Friendship'" in The Mexico Ledger, Mexico, Mo. (November 11, 1940). Citing in part, Richard Dorrance, "The Pleasure of Simple Things" in Movie-Radio Guide (n.month, n. date, 1940).

230. "Mary Margaret McBride, . . . 'Friendship'," The Ledger (November 11, 1940).

231. "Woman of the week" (March 20, 1943) [New York Post?]; McBride's morgue file at The New York Times.

232. Collie Small, "Private Life of a Pied Piper" in Collier's (December 4, 1948), pp. 28, 36-37.

233. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 122.